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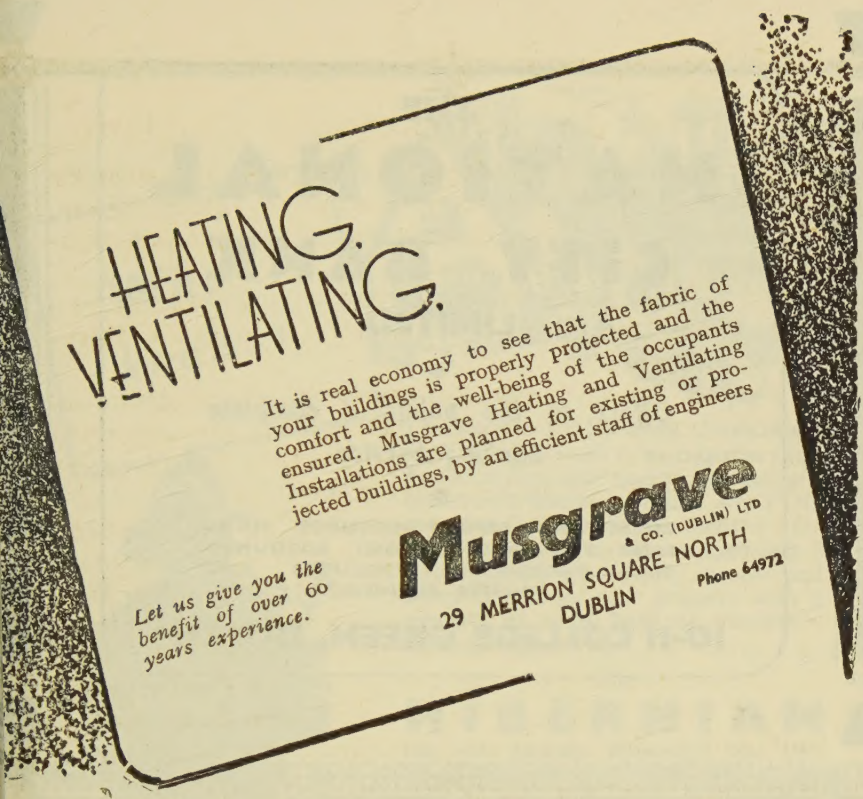
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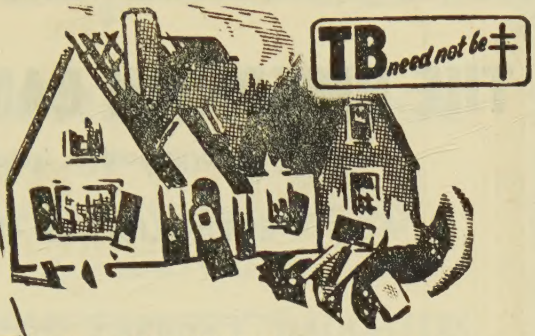

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THE IRISH MEAT AND LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY

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" In view of our dependence on external sources for many industrial raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, we must export agriculturally before we can develop industrially, and the greater our agricultural exports the greater our capacity for the kind of industrial development which depends on imported raw materials. There is another kind of industrial development based on processing our own nationally produced agricultural raw materials, to which the same considerations do not apply ; whilst development in this direction has made promising progress there is still room for considerable expansion. In particular we have been unable to develop an important and extensive dead meat trade in cattle and sheep, though we have attained some success in promoting a canning industry."

THE above quotation, taken from the recently issued Reports on Agricultural Policy by the Committee of Inquiry 1946, raises an issue of fundamental importance. The Committee endorse the view, frequently expressed throughout recent years in *Studies* by Meenan, O'Brien, O'Neill, King and other writers, that the importation of essential consumer goods and some industrial raw materials to Ireland is dependent upon the volume of its agricultural exports. Meenan, writing in 1943, insists that a prosperous agriculture is and, in any conceivable future, must be in the forefront of Irish economic policy. He supports this by statistical evidence which shows that one half of the population is employed in agriculture, two-thirds of the population live on the land and in rural areas, and more than two-thirds of the population are dependent for their standard of living on the economic stability of the agricultural industry.

There is unanimity among all those who in recent years have been concerned with economic policy, that a secure and prosperous agriculture basing itself on quality production for an expanding export market is the first essential. There has not, however, been unanimity as to the means of achieving this desired and indeed essential end. The Committee of Inquiry, whilst agreeing on the end, make little or no contribution to the means. In so far as Ireland's greatest industry is concerned—its livestock industry—they record the view that, despite the great contribution an Irish meat industry could make to the economic welfare of the country, it has not been possible to do anything about it.

I

Over many years the chief export of Ireland has been live cattle, sheep and pigs, averaging in annual value approximately one half of the total export trade. How far can the vast exportable surpluses of this livestock industry be made to contribute to the greater stability of agriculture generally and to the all-round betterment of economic and

social conditions? If it be true, and there is little doubt it is, that the sound basis of industrial development lies in the processing and manufacture of the natural raw materials of the country, why is this principle not applicable to the livestock industry? Why is it necessary to export annually large quantities of raw material in the form of livestock for manufacture and exploitation elsewhere and to the detriment of industrial development at home? To what extent can an Irish meat industry contribute to industrial development and to agricultural security and prosperity, and what form would its organisational lay-out need to take to achieve such ends?

The answers to these questions can best be supplied by a brief examination of the pre-war marketing system under which live fatstock flowed from the home farm to the English abattoir and thence to the consumer: by indicating the principles that would need to be followed for any rationalisation of that system and the benefits that would accrue; and finally by considering the sort of organisational lay-out under which a home meat industry could be created and more rational and orderly methods of marketing be achieved.

Before considering the nature and efficiency of the existing marketing channels, it would be well first to review the volume of traffic that they were required to handle. For this purpose, the pre-war years are taken as representing more normal conditions than those which have applied during the emergencies of war. The following table shows the exports of various classes of livestock and of dead meat.

TABLE I[1]

Average annual exports in three yearly periods

	1930/32	*1933/35	1936/38
		Numbers	
Fat bullocks	264,390	172,516	151,788
Store cattle	353,203	331,596	488,011
Calves	65,882	39,361	9,537
Fat sheep	207,078	120,428	139,607
Store sheep	13,799	5,841	9,466
Lambs	295,772	194,117	205,668
		Cwt.	
Beef and veal	12,595	12,851	1,182
Mutton and Lamb	16,620	39,960	20,232
Pork	306,198	158,526	68,184

[1] Statistical Abstracts 1930–40.

* In 1932 import duties imposed by Great Britain reduced exports, and in 1934 a physical reduction to 50% of the normal export level was operating.

These annual figures of livestock export always represented annually pproximately fifty per cent. of the total exports of Ireland. Prior to 932, when the embargo imposed by Great Britain came into effect, hese exports realised some twenty million pounds sterling annually; ince 1932 this return has been considerably reduced, though its percentage elation to the total export figure has not been materially varied.

The nature of Ireland's participation in the meat market of Great Britain is set out in the following table.

TABLE II [1]

Average Supplies of Butchers Meat on Great Britain market.

Description	Quality in 000' cwt.	% of total class of meat
Beef and Veal.		
Home fed cattle	12,430	46·4
*Imported fat cattle	2,025	7·6
,, meat	12,304	46·0
TOTAL	26,759	100·0
Mutton and Lamb.		
Home fed	4,654	42·1
*Imported fat stock	530	3·9
,, meat	6,076	54·0
TOTAL	11,260	100·0
Pork.		
Home fed	3,756	81·1
*Imported fat pigs	189	4·1
,, meat	685	14·8
TOTAL	4,630	100·0

Importations of Argentine beef into Great Britain, included in the mport figures of the above Table, were on the average some eight and half million hundredweights per year—or approximately eighty-five er cent. of the total importations of beef. It is worthy of note that xports of fat cattle from Ireland approximated to as much as the quivalent of two million hundredweight of beef per year, without taking nto account the volume of fresh meat exports and excluding altogether ne annual export from Ireland of some four hundred thousand store

[1] Reorganisation Commission (G.B.) Economic Series No. 39.
* Estimated meat equivalent of fat animals imported into Great Britain from Éire.

cattle. On the basis of fatstock exports alone, Ireland contributed rather more than sixteen per cent. of the Great Britain consumption of fresh beef and ten per cent of its consumption of fresh mutton and lamb.

These exports of live fat cattle, expressed in terms of their beef equivalent, are equal to as much as twenty-five per cent. of the total annual exports from the Argentine, making Ireland by way of being potentially the second largest beef exporting country in the world. The great natural and economic advantages for the production and export of meat that are possessed by the Argentine and which have brought that country to the forefront of the meat exporting countries of the world, are held in at least equal measure by Ireland. A large acreage of agricultural land specially suited to the raising of cattle, a rich soil overlying a water-bearing subsoil, a mild climate making possible outdoor grazing throughout the year, good natural grass and admirable conditions for the creation of temporary leys—these, together with a factor that Argentine does not possess, namely proximity to the Great Britain market, place Ireland in an extremely favourable position for the further development of its important livestock industry.

II

To date—unlike Holland, Denmark and Canada, countries once similarly placed but now meat exporting rather than livestock exporting countries—Ireland has preferred to follow her traditional trade of livestock exports.

Through what channels did this large and valuable trade flow? What happened to the fatstock en route to the Great Britain meat market and in what form did the ultimate meat reach the consumer? Broadly, there were three channels for disposing of live fatstock. A farmer could sell on the farm to the local butcher or dealer; he could forward to a local fair or auction; or he could consign to a dealer or wholesaler in Great Britain. The bulk of live fatstock was sold in fairs or markets and by auction.

What did this entail? After incurring droverage charges to the fair or market, there were tolls and other charges to be met. The choice of week for marketing the stock was determined more by such factors as the condition of the stock, housing facilities on the farm, the state of the pastures and so on, rather than any knowledge the farmer had of the condition of the market and the price he was likely to receive. The latter indeed was influenced by one factor of which the farmer could have no knowledge and by another factor about which his information would be limited. He would not know whether more or less than the usual number of fatstock were being offered on that day (which would materially affect his price), nor had he the information that was available to the dealer-buyer of market conditions outside his locality or in Great

Britain. Too often, therefore, on the few occasions in the year when the farmer had stock to offer, the price he had to take bore no true relation to the value of the product he had to sell.

At the fair or market, stock was purchased either by butchers for local consumption or, if for export, by dealers. Quite often local dealers would forward to larger fairs—thus incurring a second set of droverage charges, market tolls, freight costs and, as the result of transit, involving loss from shrinkage (loss of weight). From the larger market, stock passed to the port for shipment with further cost.

At the Great Britain port, the process of accumulating costs was continued in the transit of the fat animal to the slaughterhouse often distantly removed from the port of landing. At the slaughterhouse, further costs had to be met by way of tolls and other charges which, in Great Britain, were always unduly high owing to the small average handling capacity common to the sixteen thousand premises that were in operation. The abattoirs were often too small for the economic handling of livestock, frequently too ill-equipped for their efficient slaughter, and in nearly all cases neither equipped, designed nor organised for the efficient utilisation of the offals.

From the slaughterhouse, the meat passed ungraded, unconditioned and unregulated to the retailer or, in the large consuming areas of Great Britain, to wholesale markets. Realised prices in the market were often governed by the same laws of chance as applied to the original sale of the live animal. Over-pitching, no matter from what cause it arose, depressed prices ; irregularity of supply contributed to high wholesaling costs and to a lessening of demand.

Factors such as these, together with the failure of the market always to fulfil its chief function in the directing of the varying kinds, qualities and cuts of meat to the localities best able to absorb them were as likely as not to result in a wholesale price that still further penalised the producer. Also, none of this meat, raised on Irish pastures and representing nearly one-fifth of Great Britain's fresh meat consumption, was sold under its own designation. The best was too frequently disposed of as Scotch or English and the remainder sold to the detriment of the goodwill that should accompany the marketing of so large a volume of trade.

It was the aggregate of these costs and omissions that contributed to the low levels of fat stock prices, which were so much out of line with their real value. The indifferent return to the producers, accruing from the largest section of the agricultural industry, placed limitations on their purchasing power, maintained wages of farm workers at low levels and generally denied to agriculture the essential conditions of stability and security.

The costs borne by the exported fatstock from the farm gate in Ireland to the consumer's table in Great Britain were far heavier than any industry

can bear without an undue lowering of its own standards of living. These heavy costs did not arise wholly from excessive margins of profit made by the too numerous intermediaries that were involved in the pre-retail stages of distribution ; they derived from many redundancies, inefficiencies and extravagances. The channels of marketing were unco-ordinated, irrational and quite often chaotic.

Many thousands of isolated small farm units were marketing and exporting annually fatstock, valuing in the aggregate several millions of pounds sterling. A scattered community, operating in small units of production, were denied the facilities that were available to their highly organised competitors in New Zealand, Holland, Denmark, Argentine, Australia and other countries. Transport agencies, insurance companies, merchants of feeding stuffs and other commodities, bankers, processing units and wholesalers—all offer special terms to the large user, and the survival of Ireland's livestock industry on any reasonable level of prosperity depends upon its being able to meet this competition on its own terms by organised buying, organised processing and organised marketing.

III

The Majority Report on Agricultural Policy concerns itself almost solely with recommendations aimed at improving production efficiency on the farm and makes only scant reference to organised marketing. It cannot be too strongly stressed that, regardless of what the producing interests may do to improve their own efficiency and the quality of the commodities they produce, it would contribute but little to their security or betterment unless their produce was handled efficiently and economically throughout all the pre-retail stages of distribution. This is not to minimise the need for improved methods of production, but is to emphasise that the chief of the economic ills of Irish agriculture is its marketing problem. In this matter of the livestock industry, if the wide spread between producer and consumer prices is to be narrowed, if Irish meat is to create that degree of consumer preference which will alone determine its goodwill in the Great Britain market, if producer prices are to be such as will contribute to an improved standard of living and if one of Ireland's most valuable raw materials is to be processed at home to provide for an expanding export trade, then it is necessary to determine what are the efficiency measures that will contribute towards creating the orderly and rational marketing system upon which these fundamentals depend.

The prospects of creating such a system may best be analysed under the three heads into which the industry naturally falls :

(*a*) The farm to abattoir organisation
(*b*) The abattoir organisation
(*c*) The selling organisation

The farm to abattoir organisation. The devious channels through which exported fat livestock found their way to Great Britain abattoir before the war were both costly and extravagant. To the port of shipment alone these costs were not less than and often much exceeded 20/- to 25/- per head in the case of cattle and 3/- to 6/- per head in the case of sheep and pigs. When to these costs are added heavy shipping and freight charges ex the port, the all-over costs of marketing to the abattoir were between 50/- to 60/- per head in the case of cattle. Between the farm and the abattoir, stock were involved in three distinct periods of haulage and at least five or six different handlings. Long distance transportation and frequent handling of fatstock entail further costs of an indirect nature, arising from heavy loss in weight and deterioration in quality, which must be added to the more direct costs referred to above. Under the much more favourable conditions in England, such losses have been estimated at 13/4d. per beast [1]; and the Irish figure for loss under these two heads must be substantially higher.

With fatstock, the shortest and quickest passage from farm to abattoir is the cheapest and most economical method of disposal. A rationalisation of the channels of livestock sale is one of the first essentials in laying foundations for a secure and prosperous livestock industry. Such a rationalisation might well take the form of the system devised and operated by the Producers Pig Marketing Board in Northern Ireland in the years before the war and which, during the years of war, was employed by the Ministry of Food in England. Under it, stock were delivered by producers to conveniently situated collecting depots which acted as assembly points for despatch to efficiently equipped abattoir. A full development of this system offers many important economies. It eliminates a number of redundancies—markets, auctions, dealers, drovers, etc.—that operate at no small cost to the producer; there is a minimum handling and transportation of stock and, therefore, less loss in shrinkage and condition; the fact that producers give notice of delivery at the depot, facilitates and cheapens transport; bulk annual contracts of carriage can be made with transport authorities which lead to an effectual lowering of transport rates, and a rational and ordered direction of livestock to abattoir in accordance with their requirements becomes possible. Under this system in Northern Ireland, [2] the cost of marketing pigs was reduced in a few years from several shillings to one shilling per animal; in Great Britain the same system has more than halved marketing costs over all classes of livestock.

Agriculture cannot divest itself of some responsibility for the efficient marketing of its produce. From the establishment of more direct channels of marketing, with stock flowing from farm to depot and abattoir, it would

[1] Report on Slaughtering of Live Stock, 1933, Econ. Adv. Council.
[2] Pig Marketing Board. Five Year Review.

be by no means unreasonable to expect a saving in costs over the present methods of from thirty to forty shillings per head in fat cattle alone.

The abattoir organisation. Production, processing and distribution are not different problems, but are inter-related parts of the same process. Where the farming industry is divorced from the processing units, the stability of the price structure is undermined, unnecessary and costly intermediaries are introduced into the marketing channels and the benefits that should accrue to the rural population from the proper processing, grading and marketing of their produce become largely unrealisable.

The abattoir determines, in large measure, the welfare of the livestock industry. Its function, its size and its location are all matters of the greatest concern. Quite simply, a modern abattoir should be a central slaughterhouse, combining the functions of slaughtering and processing under one management, operating on factory lines with continuous process from slaughter to packing and being equipped with modern plant for the handling and manufacture of the entire range of offals, edible and inedible.

Such a factory abattoir is the only form of processing unit under which a uniform system of grading can be applied to Irish meat, so that it reaches the export market with some degree of standardisation in its appearance and condition as is the case with its chief competitors, where inferior parts of the carcase can be economically diverted to manufacture instead of being allowed to prejudice the price and goodwill of the better qualities, and where the full utilisation of the offal can be made to contribute important reductions in the on-costs of slaughtering, as well as providing a range of subsidiary commodities that add to the gross value of the carcase.

Under normal conditions, the offals and by-products, properly processed and efficiently utilised, amount to not less than one-sixth of the total value of the meat. Under pre-war conditions, had Irish fatstock been slaughtered and processed at home, the resultant by-products would have yielded an additional revenue of several million pounds sterling, as well as providing for a range of important ancillary industries. The wide margins of profit available from the sale and processing of offals is clearly shown not only by the experience of other meat producing countries, but also by the fact that Great Britain buyers of Irish fatstock could afford to make purchases at what superficially were not unattractive prices, despite the heavy costs of transit and slaughtering, amounting in the case of cattle to approximately £3 per head. That the value of these offals were not at all adequately reflected in the producer price is evidenced by the fact that purchasers of fatstock were able out of their offal utilisation, imperfect though it was, to meet all the extravagant costs of a livestock trade, as well as secure not inconsiderable profits. The magnitude of the cost of the live fatstock export trade to the Irish

roducer becomes very plain when it is realised that the prices paid by Great Britain buyers were themselves based on a slaughtering system which was both costly and wasteful. Nationally, the loss was of even reater magnitude.

Associated with a well devised system of central slaughtering through he medium of modern factory abattoir are a number of valuable allied ndustries. The tanning industry, the fertiliser and feeding stuffs industries vith their production of high protein meat meal, meat and bone meal, nd dried blood, the manufacture of surgical gut and other derivatives rom animal casings, the tallow and fat industry, the manufacture of nimal glands for pharmaceutical purposes, refrigeration and the modern uick-freeze process, the cooked meats and delicatessen industry and thers, are all associated industries of great value.

Not only are these industries essential to the efficient utilisation of he country's livestock if producers are not to be penalised in the prices hey receive, but in addition they are industries which would provide or much employment in the areas of production, where such employment s usually most required. They would materially increase the export rade of the country by the addition of a wide range of remunerative roducts.

In advocating the establishment in Ireland of factory abattoir sufficient o handle the slaughter and processing of the country's fatstock for export n the form of fresh meat, it is important to distinguish between that orm of unit and the large packing houses of North America or the rigerificos of the Argentine. The latter, for reasons of transport and efrigeration, are obviously unsuited to Irish conditions: the factory battoir is more directly comparable in size and function to the large nodern bacon factory, with which the country is already familiar. The actory abattoir unit must, of course, be of a size that will permit of naximum technical and operational efficiency: it must be capable of andling a sufficient number of fatstock as will justify the installation f modern plant and equipment and secure the low costs of operation hat result from large turn-over. It has been estimated that, for conomical operation, a factory abattoir should have a minimum weekly andling of three thousand animals.[1] Increase above this minimum is imited only when the point is reached at which the decrease in costs f operation, consequent upon increased handling from a wider geographical rea, becomes more than balanced by the associated increase in the costs f transport and by the increased losses from shrinkage and quality.

The location of the abattoir is a further factor of great importance. he relative merits of slaughter in the producing areas as opposed to laughter at the port have to be assessed against a background of fficiency. A number of factors have bearing on this problem. As

[1] Report on Abattoir Design. Econ. Series No. 40.

against the location of abattoir at the ports are those losses inevitably incurred in the transportation of the live fat stock over long distances. Such losses are those to which reference has already been made, and they include loss from shrinkage, heavy freight charges and loss in condition and quality of the resultant meat. An abattoir in the producing area would be so placed as to draw supplies from a wide area all around it with minimum distances of transit, whereas at the port an abattoir of equal capacity would have to draw its stock from only one side of it, involving greater travel. On the other hand, there are two factors favouring the siting of abattoir at the port. There is advantage in loading fresh meat and offal direct from abattoir to ship and the cost of erecting abattoir at the port may be somewhat lower than the costs of inland building.

Having regard to all these factors, there is, however, little doubt that the balance is heavily in favour of abattoir in the producing areas. When to these factors, however, are added the social and economic advantages that would accrue generally from the establishment of factory abattoir and their associated industries in the rural and the semi-rural areas, the case is made. The factory abattoir and its ancillary industries are new industries that are peculiarly well suited to take the place of those rural crafts and occupations that once offered alternative means of employment in the countryside. With their establishment would follow many social amenities at present denied to the rural population, and the creation of new wealth at the point where it is most needed would go some way towards preserving a desirable balance between town and country.

Apart from the considerable advantages that would derive from the greater efficiency and economy of slaughter and processing in factory units such as are suggested, there is one other aspect of a home meat industry that must be borne in mind. Reference has been made to the fact that under a fat livestock export policy no goodwill is being created in the market for a volume of trade equal to $\frac{1}{5}$th of Great Britain's fresh meat consumption. An associated disadvantage and one of a more tangible nature is that Ireland does not benefit as it should from the better prices that fresh meat can be made to realise in Great Britain over its chilled and frozen competitor.

The nature of the price preferential that the consumer is prepared to pay for the fresh product is substantial.[1] In the decade before the war, the wholesale price of fresh beef averaged 8½d. per lb. against Argentine beef at 5⅜d. per lb.; fresh lamb at 1/1d. per lb. against frozen New Zealand lamb at 9d. per lb. Slaughter and processing at home, a suitable system of grading Irish meat for export such as is successfully employed by its chief competitors, together with well organised methods

[1] P.E.P. Broadsheet No. 25. 1934.

of selling, would secure these premiums and possibly exceed them to the betterment of producers generally.

The selling organisation. The selling organisation needs much consideration. The distribution function includes a responsibility for interpreting to the producer the specific needs and capacity of the effective and potential, present and future, market. It is responsible for co-operation with producers for the creation of effective demand and should seek to promote full co-ordination of effort. It is only by such means that a commodity satisfactory to the consumer will be marketed, sold and delivered at the time and place at which it is required and at prices and quality which will ensure the development of maximum demand at the least expense.

The wholesaler thus commands the approaches in both directions. He is not only responsible for maintaining effective contact between seller and buyer or for ensuring that the producer's product is sold to the best possible advantage, but he is also a two-way channel of information. He is responsible for interpreting to the producer the specific needs and capacity of the market and for keeping retailers informed as to the kinds, qualities, quantities and prices at which supplies are available.

The creation of a home meat industry would make it essential to secure efficient and co-ordinated channels of sale such as would perform effectively these services of liaison between producer and retailer. It would call for one or two large scale wholesaling units in Great Britain, operating on agreed terms and capable of offering a national coverage, to undertake the distribution of Irish meat and its by-products. Planned distribution in the export market, regionally and nationally, is quite vital if an improving consumer demand is to be secured and if maximum prices are to be realised through the rational direction of the varying kinds, qualities and cuts of meat to the various areas and localities in accordance with their taste and requirements.

Organisation and planning at the selling end are of equal importance to the other two factors : viz. rational methods of livestock marketing and organisation of the abattoir function, that collectively provide the indispensable framework for the establishment of an Irish meat industry.

The present methods of meat and livestock marketing that have been described reveal wide margins of inefficiency. They are methods that have remained unchanged over many generations and represent a traditional trade of livestock export historically devised for conditions very different from those prevailing today. Modern means of transportation, of abattoir practice, of cold storage, of organisation for efficient and scientific marketing have made little or no impact on Irish agriculture. Some of the consequences have been indicated and an attempt made to measure the cost.

IV

If this branch of agriculture, yielding some fifty per cent. of the total annual export revenue of the country, is to be placed on an economically healthy and secure basis, a solution of its marketing problems must be found. The measures that are fundamental to this solution may be briefly summarised. The rationalisation of the channels of live fatstock sale, the creation of centralised factory abattoir, efficient utilisation of by-products, direction of poorer quality meats to the manufacturing market, national grading of the product, organised methods of sale—these are the essential measures of efficiency, measures that individually can only contribute their full quota of economy when put into operation on a national scale.

Is this the task of Government or must it come through the volition of producers? Ireland has a long and creditable history of agricultural co-operation, but the problems of national organisation that are here involved are of greater magnitude than can be dealt with by any purely voluntary body, no matter how strong. This is not to suggest that they are problems of Government only, but that they cannot be solved without the initiative and aid of Government. Aid, under such circumstances, can perhaps best be given when it takes such form as to be associated in the public mind with organisation on a national scale, with a serious attempt, that is, to create a self-respecting industry, concerned to eliminate waste and inefficiency at every stage of production and marketing. This form of Government assistance was given to producers in Great Britain by the enabling legislation embodied in the Agricultural Marketing Acts 1931, 1932. Under these Acts, producers were empowered to organise, to create producer owned and controlled commodity boards, co-operation was encouraged and strengthened, and statutory powers were conferred on organised producers for this purpose. Some such form of legislation might well provide the stimulus under which organised producers may contribute to a solution of present problems and to the creation of an expanding home meat industry. This possibility was envisaged in the Second Minority Report on Agricultural Policy 1946:

> "The Pigs Marketing Board of Northern Ireland, controlled and directed by representatives of producers, had before the war achieved striking results in expanding the industry, rationalising transport, eliminating unnecessary costs and carrying out investigations on a variety of problems in production, processing and marketing. Its success was due in the main to (*a*) the fact that it was a Producers Board, and, therefore, in a position to gain the farmers' confidence, (*b*) that it had adequate powers of control over marketing, (*c*) that it used its powers to establish factories under its own control, (*d*) that it had the resources to retain a staff with special competence to study the problems of price fluctuations in the various markets and so enable it to pursue a prudent price policy."

Some such Board might well undertake responsibility, among other things, for the orderly and efficient marketing of fatstock from farm to

abattoir. It is a duty that in any event devolves on producers and is one in the performance of which they are quite vitally interested.

Consideration might also be given to the desirability of setting up some form of Commission or Slaughterhouse Board to plan and direct the creation of a series of factory abattoirs. Such a body might be vested with powers to approve centralised abattoir schemes, to determine the terms and conditions on which such schemes should operate, to undertake the responsibility of meat grading and inspection services, and generally to perform any other regulatory functions that may be allotted to it. It is probable that Government should intervene to this extent. Location of factory abattoirs and the new industries that would develop in association with them is not a matter that can be left wholly to free enterprise. It involves problems of employment, of decentralisation of industry, of the possible displacement of existing slaughtering premises—which problems are properly the concern of Government.

The procedure of such a Commission would be to invite applications for centralised factory abattoir schemes in those producing areas where it was deemed to be desirable to establish them, having regard to the general interest. Organised producers and experienced interests already in this field in Ireland might well be given priority in the ownership and operation of the factory abattoir schemes. In each approved scheme the abattoir could be required to operate within agreed margins, to make provision for a full and efficient utilisation of the by-products and to submit to periodical inspection. In return, each abattoir, in order to enable it to achieve low operational costs and to justify the installation of modern plant and equipment, would be given assurances of an economic output. There would need to be some relation between numbers of fatstock marketed annually and the numbers of factory abattoirs that are to be licensed, if the wide margins of economy that are available are to be realised. Without some such safeguard, it is difficult to see how private enterprise could be induced to provide the necessary capital for creating some, if not all, of the desirable factory abattoirs for the efficient handling of the country's live fatstock.

A factory abattoir unit of a size to yield the full measure of economy and to justify a high order of technical management would cost upwards of £150,000, and ten to fifteen of them may be necessary to serve the industry on present standards. A number of them could, with advantage, be made available at existing bacon factories, but others would require erection. The encouragement of intelligent private enterprise to embark on this development scheme, subject to appropriate safeguards and in collaboration with organised producers, offers one means of securing an efficient and orderly system of processing and marketing the produce of one important section of the country's agriculture.

The insecurity and poor returns of the livestock industry do not

result from the technical inefficiency of the producer so much as from the lack of any rational system of marketing. As an industry, it can only meet its well-organised competitors in the export market by equal or better organisation. To attain these objectives, some such measures as have been described are necessary, when, instead of a series of isolated producers seeking to hold their own against the organised systems of agriculture in other countries, there may result, in the creation of a home meat industry, that integration of production, processing and marketing that is so indispensable to the security and well-being of an agricultural community.

THOMAS SHAW

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. 1—BY PROFESSOR T. A. SMIDDY, M.A.

Chairman, Committee of Inquiry on Agricultural Policy, 1942-1946

IN a brief commentary on Mr. Shaw's article it is not possible to deal adequately with the arguments in support of his proposal for a dead meat export trade—especially that of dressed beef. The cattle industry as a whole is highly complex, and the export of cattle on the hoof, which is integrated with the whole structure of Irish farming, cannot be dismissed without a detailed examination of its structure and organisation and the incidence on it of the radical change suggested by Mr. Shaw. A detailed account is necessary of the costs involved in the processing and in the provision of chilling equipment in railway trucks and steamers ; also the costs of distribution of the dressed meat to retailers from the London or other British distributing centre. In the absence of such data one cannot give a valid judgement as to the merits or demerits of a dead meat export trade. Mr. Shaw does not supply those data : he omits many important variables which are essential for a considered opinion.

As a signatory to the Reports submitted to the Minister of Agriculture by the Committee of Inquiry on Post-Emergency Agricultural Policy I am surprised to read statements in Mr. Shaw's article to the effect that there has not been unanimity of opinion as to the means of promoting a secure and prosperous agriculture, basing itself on quality production for an expanding export market, and that the Committee made little or no contribution to the means of achieving this end. In fact, the underlying current of all the Reports is precisely what Mr. Shaw accuses it of omitting. All the Reports deal in detail with the methods for achieving an increased volume of agricultural output of the highest quality at a lower cost per unit. The two signatories of the No. 1 Minority Report emphasise the greater importance of the home market and state that we should be

prudent in basing our policy exclusively on an export trade. It is eless to expatiate on the importance of a dead meat export trade or of panding any of our agricultural exports unless agricultural products e coming forward in greater volume, with a fairly even spread throughout e year, at lower costs, and capable of competing in quality and price th those of our competitors. The means for achieving these objects e emphasised throughout the Reports. Paragraphs 45-50 of the Interim eport on the Cattle Industry deal with some of the difficulties confronting e export of fat cattle. They refer to the effect which the improvement the technique for chilling for the transport of dressed beef over long stances, and the improvement in the quality of the beef exported, will ve on our cattle industry. One can infer from these passages that the ice margin between first quality chilled beef and fresh beef will, in future, much less than obtained in the decade to which Mr. Shaw refers. his trend is particularly noticeable as far as fresh meat from second uality cattle is concerned.

There are products of importance for an export trade other than live ttle or dressed beef. For instance, the tinned meat industry is well ganised. The value of the export of tinned meat in 1945 was nearly 2 million ; its further expansion was checked only by the limited supply tin for containers. The egg industry is also well organised. The lue of the export of eggs in 1945 was approximately £2½ million. It worthy of note that, while the value of our total export of live cattle as in 1945 £13¾ million, the value of our other live animals and agricultural oducts was £12½ million—of which foodstuffs other than live animals alized £8½ million.

One has reasonable grounds for believing that, if the export of dressed eat was profitable, firms that had the initiative and competence to develop large tinned meat industry would also have developed a dressed meat port trade without the direct aid and guidance of a Government Depart-ent—or a nationally planned organisation. Over the past forty years any attempts were made, without success, to develop this trade. In e case a large-scale factory abattoir, on the lines suggested by Mr. aw, was established and had its own specially equipped ships for the rpose. It was located at the port of export. It failed under two different mpanies. It would be interesting to examine the basic reasons for lure in all cases.

Apart from those aspects of the problem we have discussed, there are ndamental difficulties of a politico-economic character which Mr. Shaw es not envisage—viz., the higher price paid for British-fed fat cattle an for Irish-fed fat cattle of similar quality due to the fat cattle subsidy id to farmers of the United Kingdom. The British Cattle Industry t, 1934, implemented this policy of encouraging the breeding, rearing d fattening of cattle in the United Kingdom. The subsidy, though

lower, applies also to cattle imported for fattening provided they are at least two months in the country before being offered for sale as fat cattle. The incidence of the subsidy is to raise the price of suitable " forward " stores by almost the amount of the subsidy. The difference in price between Irish fat cattle sold for immediate slaughter and for fat cattle bred and fed in Great Britain amounts, in the case of a 10 cwt. beast, to £7 10s. 0d. Hence, the result is to discourage the export of fat cattle and to encourage that of advanced stores. The export of the former declined in last year to 17,267. In the years previous to 1934 the average was approximately 220,000. The effect of the Cattle Industry Act on our cattle export as a whole has been to reduce the number exported from a normal average of 730,000 to 563,000. This subject was dealt with in detail by the Minister of Agriculture in the Dail on 26 July 1946, but did not get the publicity which such an important statement, on a matter affecting our whole economy, deserved. It was this policy that rightly evoked from the signatories of the Majority Report on Policy the statement: " The export of dead meat instead of fat cattle and sheep would be a great improvement in marketing organisation, but this development cannot take place so long as the British policy of price differentiation in favour of the export trade of ' forward stores ' is maintained."

Again, there may be the danger of prohibition of the importation of dressed beef into Great Britain, as existed from 1934 until 1938.

Further, the export of dead lamb and mutton has ceased due to the very low price given by the Ministry of Food. For instance, the price of dressed lamb imported from Ireland was 1s. 0¾d. per lb.

Probably, such export price policies induced in the minds of the two signatories of No. 1 Minority Report a somewhat pessimistic outlook on the future of our agricultural exports. They state: " We would not be justified in gambling with the economic future of the nation by relying exclusively on an export market, uncertain as regards volume and price, while at the same time neglecting the opportunities of the home market."

Finally, it is unlikely that the country would approve of handing over the distribution of the products of our most important industry to " one or two large-scale wholesale units " in Great Britain.

As agriculture embraces a multitude of problems, it was not possible for a Committee of part-time members to examine, except in a very general way, many of them. Hence, it had to confine itself to an examination of the more fundamental aspects of the industry and to recommend a policy based on the results of such investigation. Among many problems of importance not examined, except in broad outline, was organised marketing. Even from the long-period point of view it would be only of theoretical value for any Committee to examine into the profitability of a dead meat trade so long as the price differential between fat cattle and advanced stores exported to Great Britain obtains.

T. A. SMIDDY

NO. 2—BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH JOHNSTON, S.F.T.C.D.

HAVE read, with very mixed feelings, Mr. Shaw's able exposition of the ed for replacing our export of beef cattle on the hoof by a properly ganised and developed dead meat export trade. If it could be accomished, nothing could contribute more effectively to the growth of our ricultural prosperity and to the establishment of a sound industrialism osely integrated with our major agricultural activity. Unfortunately, nder the conditions which have existed since 1932 *and which still exist*, e thing is impossible. In that year Great Britain began a price policy hich stimulates, in fact subsidises, the export of forward stores and scriminates heavily against the export of cattle ready for immediate aughter. The policy has had different forms at different times, but in bstance its effect has always been the same. To take a typical illustration : the price fixed by the British Ministry of Food for an imported animal ady for immediate slaughter is 60 shillings per cwt. live weight, the rresponding price for an animal of equal merit, reared and finished in reat Britain, is of the order of 74 shillings, while the price obtainable r a forward Irish store with two months' expectation of life in Great ritain would be 69 shillings. During most months of the year the latter ice governs the price payable by Irish butchers for beef or near-beef imals. The crucial question is : if we had a dead meat factory processing e type of animal now exported on the hoof, would it get a price for the xported meat no higher than the equivalent of the 60 shilling price now ayable for animals exported for immediate slaughter, or what price ould it get? On the answer to this question by Mr. Strachey depends e feasibility or otherwise of Mr. Shaw's very attractive proposition. is quite certain that the dead meat factory—if operating under present nditions—would have to pay the 69 shilling price for its cattle. To uy at 69 shillings and sell at 60 shillings would, from the outset, condemn e proposed venture to bankruptcy—or heavy subsidisation by the tional government.

There are other difficulties in the way the remedy for which lies in ur own hands. Our output of beef is mainly grass-fed, and hence an port surplus is only available during late summer, autumn and early nter. In spring and early summer the house-fed quota is barely sufficient r the home market. The excessively seasonal character of our total tput would make it extremely difficult for a factory catering for the port trade to have an economic through-put in every month of the ar. This is one of the defects of our agricultural economy, which could remedied by a closer integration of tillage and grass policy, and which ght to be so remedied in our own national interest.

Apparently we now consume about 200,000 cattle per annum, and one tory of economic size requires only 150,000 cattle regularly available

throughout the year. It would perhaps be feasible to establish a factory for the home market only—which, of course, would imply the abolition of all private slaughter houses in every important region of the country. But there are many private vested interests involved, and if they feel aggrieved won't they howl?

I appreciate Mr. Shaw's quotation from the Majority Report on Agricultural Policy. It was not possible to deal with all the issues so bluntly in that document as it is for Mr. Shaw in his article; but I would direct his attention to a sentence in Paragraph 255 which sums up the matter with characteristic restraint: "The export of dead meat instead of fat cattle and sheep would be a great improvement in marketing organisation, but this development cannot take place so long as the British policy of price differentiation in favour of the export of 'forward stores' is maintained."

JOSEPH JOHNSTON

NO. 3—BY JAMES HUGHES, T.D.

MR. SHAW in his article deals, in a very able and expert manner, with a problem of major national importance—the efficient marketing and disposal to the best advantage of our exportable live stock production. His description of our marketing conditions and organisation brings to my mind what the late Mr. Kevin O'Higgins said of our primary industry almost a quarter of a century ago, that "we paid all our attention to production and none to marketing". Chaotic marketing conditions have persisted during all that time, and the farmer of to-day just as facilely and complacently hands over to the speculator and exploiter his most valuable produce. The gluts and slumps that characterised the livestock trade between the two wars resulted in the main from unorganised, uncoordinated, uncontrolled and un-regulated marketing. It seems incredible that in this modern age, with its highly developed marketing technique, that we, with the largest exports of live animals in the world, should permit this vital trade to be operated under such inefficient conditions and with so many parasites hanging on. All are free to participate. No order, no attempt whatever to regulate supplies to meet market requirements. An upward trend in prices, precipitates the speculators into the country who invariably succeed in glutting the market and depressing prices. Instability, insecurity and heavy financial loss have resulted to the primary producers from this mad policy of free and unregulated trade—with, as Mr. Shaw describes it, too many intermediaries, redundancies and extravagances.

We are selling to-day in a sellers' market, and the costly and wasteful methods of marketing may not be so apparent. But under normal world

conditions can the primary producers of this country afford to tolerate conditions that have in the past reduced their profits to very narrow margins? Can any one question the necessity for rationalisation? Before world trade crystallises, now is the time to have our plans prepared in clear perspective. Mr. Shaw points to our soil, mild climate and high rainfall, conditions second to none for the production of nutritious leys. Operating an efficient ley-farming policy, our livestock potential would be far greater than our present output. If the Hot Springs resolution of Freedom from Want is to be implemented and if F.A.O. is not a fraud (I don't think it is), the world requirements in protective foods will be approximately 100% more than pre-war. Meat constitutes the major part of the protective foods. In a world of uncertainties one thing stands out prominently: animal protein and animal fats will be in short supply for many years to come. We are particularly equipped for the production of the protective foods of high value, and we must exploit our capacity to the maximum. The personal attention required in the rearing of animals gives the small farmer an opportunity of using his family labour to the best advantage. But an expanding livestock economy demands an efficient economic marketing organisation, if full benefits are to accrue to the primary producer and to the nation.

Immense benefits have undoubtedly accrued to the national economies of Denmark, Holland, New Zealand and Canada from the reversal of their livestock exporting policies. The naturally allied processing industries of a dead meat trade have proved for them a most economic form of industrial development, providing large scale employment and helping in a great measure to stabilise the commodity price structure. Are our conditions for such development similar to theirs or does our proximity to the British market make it more profitable to export live animals?

We must remember that several attempts have been made in the past to develop a dressed meat trade. The Drogheda venture, with its extensive buildings and its efficient machinery and equipment, was an outstanding example. All attempts ended in failure. Shortly after the failure of the Drogheda factory, evidence was tendered by representatives of the livestock trade before an Agricultural Commission to the effect that the dressed meat industry could never be developed in Ireland so as to take the place, to any appreciable extent, of the livestock trade. It was contended that the supply of fat cattle is not sufficiently regular throughout the year to enable dressed meat factories to be economically run; that cattle from the very moment of slaughter became a highly perishable commodity liable to suffer severe depreciation in value from any delay in transport and that the difficulties of transporting dressed meat to British markets without damaging it were almost insuperable. It was argued that, when left to the free play of the laws of supply and demand in a free trade market, trade and industry tend to be directed into the most profitable and economic

channels. The Commission expressed disagreement with the views tendered and recommended that the development of a dressed meat industry was both desirable and possible. They stressed many of the advantages emphasised by Mr. Shaw and pointed to the special advantage in the event of a foot and mouth outbreak here. They recommended the immediate revival of the industry at Drogheda.

The British policy of price differential against Irish fat cattle must not be overlooked when considering this proposal. In Table I Mr. Shaw gives average annual exports in three yearly periods up to 1936–38. In 1945 fat cattle exports were down to 13,056 from 151,788 for the 1936–38 period, while stores were down to 381,912. The almost complete disappearance of fat cattle exports is due to Britain's price policy, which is aimed at encouraging all our suitable cattle to be shipped as stores—to stay two months in U.K. and qualify for an increased price of 15s. per cwt. This suits Britain's present agricultural economy. Irish cattle help to trample the large quantities of straw from their tillage policy and convert it into muck. All our prime cattle are shipped as stores, which means a nett increase of £9 for a 12 cwt. beast after a two months' stay in the U.K. Only animals unsuitable for store purposes are sold as fats. Our recent food mission to London pressed for a withdrawal of this price differential, which inflicts a great hardship on the sale of the small type of beast. The result of the work of the mission has not yet been published. The difference between fixed prices for Irish fat cattle and the fixed price of British home bred steers is approximately 20s. per cwt.

While this differential remains, it would in my opinion be impossible to secure our prime animals for dressed meat purposes. The present time is most favourable to press for its removal. A very high proportion of Irish farms are under 50 acres—suitable only for the raising of young animals. Worked to their full capacity, we could not possibly hope to finish all our livestock on the balance of our land. We must, therefore, continue to have an interest in an export trade for some stores.

If an adjustment in the present range of prices can be secured so that Irish fresh meat could enter the British market on terms at least equal to that obtaining for cattle landed as stores and if efficient transport is available, which means the willing co-operation of English railways, then I believe that Mr. Shaw's proposals are sound and would provide all the economic advantages for the industry and the country which he claims. Drogheda failed because of bad management and because the right people were not interested. Any further attempt at development must be on the basis of farmers' co-operative societies, if success is to be attained—to which the State should provide assistance by substantial *ad hoc* grants in aid.

JAMES HUGHES

NO. 4—BY PROFESSOR E. J. SHEEHY, D.SC., F.R.C.SC.I.

THE live cattle exported from this country to Britain may be divided into three categories: animals for breeding purposes, stores, and fats.

Some twenty years ago the stores and fat animals in the export trade approximated to the same number; but, with the introduction by Britain of a subsidy on home-killed beef, a radical change was brought about. The aid given to cattle fattening in Britain placed a premium on Irish stores to the disadvantage of fats, in as far as fat cattle from British yards and pastures sold at a price per hundred weight which appreciably exceeded that which fat animals of the same grade from Ireland fetched. Because Irish stores when fattened across the water qualified for the subsidy, British feeders were thereby enabled to pay an enhanced price for Irish stores. The response of the trade was reflected in an increase in the ratio of stores to fats exported, and at the present time the number of animals exported in the category of fats is comparatively small in relation to the number designated as stores.

In as far as imported stores qualify, after a few months feeding, for the subsidy on home-killed beef in Britain there has been an increasing tendency for British feeders to procure from us store cattle in very forward condition, so that the great bulk of our export trade in stores is in animals which have been brought to a fair degree of fatness and which may be finished off in Britain in the shortest specified time necessary to earn the subsidy on British home-killed animals. Our store cattle suit the British feeder who, in view of agricultural and social conditions in that country, will continue to require our live cattle in greater or lesser numbers to maintain the cycle of their agricultural economy. This is a specialist trade in which we have no competition and in the conduct of which we have a good deal of bargaining power, and it would be a mistake to do anything which would reduce its volume.

With fat cattle the case is different. There we have to compete with the severe competition from overseas supplies of dead meat, much of which is equal and some superior to the carcases produced from Irish fat cattle after the live animals have suffered the hardships of transit to Britain. Writers and speakers have been insistent in stating the advantages of replacing this trade in live fat stock by one in which the produce would go out as dead meat properly graded for competition with the best meat on the British market. Mr. Shaw has made the case convincingly, and he has also gone some way towards designing the type of organisation which would be necessary to successfully conduct a dead meat trade.

It is well, however, fully to realise the difficulties. To begin with, the difficulty arising because of the differentiation in prices due to the British subsidy on home-killed cattle is almost insuperable. While this policy continues and while the proportion of fat to store animals exported

from this country sympathetically declines, the initiation of a large scale dead meat trade would appear impossible. Notwithstanding the theoretical possibility of effecting a saving by introducing a rationalised dead meat industry as compared with present-day methods of marketing fat animals, it must be realised that the new machinery would necessarily have to function more efficiently than that which now operates the trade in live animals, and that the new officials of the dead meat company, whether it be co-operative or statutory, would have to exhibit the keenness of the personnel of the present livestock trade. Producers would seek an assurance in respect of these matters.

An aspect of the Irish meat and livestock industry arises out of the possibility of a limitation being placed by Britain on the number of live cattle imported. In that eventuality a dead meat trade would provide an outlet for stock surplus to Britain's requirements in the way of live animals. Such a limitation appears ridiculous just now, but it must be remembered that we have not yet issued from a critical emergency. When animal products become plentiful once more, the danger of suicidal competition bringing prices down to cost of production, or even below it, may again loom up. Should the wheel of trade revert to the conditions of the early thirties, the production in this country of increasing numbers of fat cattle to be sold either dead or alive would be too problematical to justify the risk of establishing a complex machine for exporting dead meat. Realism demands consideration of the selling price of our agricultural products in foreign markets ; and, unless that price is satisfactory, economic development in this country must proceed in the absence of an extension of agricultural exports, notwithstanding the reiteration by Mr. Shaw of statements to the effect that such is impossible.

While on the question of the development of the cattle trade, of which the proposal to set up a substantial dead meat export industry is only one item, mention should be made of the third category of live cattle exported, namely those which are intended for breeding purposes. The emphasis on increased milk production in Britain will presumably maintain an increasing demand for good quality dairy stock from Ireland. By good quality is understood high milking strain and freedom from disease. Hence the very great importance to the livestock industry of a vigorous effort to raise the milk yield of our dairy cows and of the establishment in the country of an organised veterinary service whose function would be to maintain health rather than cure disease.

E. J. Sheehy

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HUNGARY AND ITS PRESENT PLIGHT

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

Editor of *The Month*

I CAN recall a remark made to me by an Austrian to the effect that, once you travel from Vienna further down the Danube, you move out of the Europe, with which you are familiar, into a new and different world; you pass from West to East. I think I know what he had in mind; but, in itself, his remark was misleading; it is lucky that no Hungarian overheard it. Statements of that kind have frequently been uttered during the past three years, dividing Europe into two portions, West and East, with the corollary that Eastern Europe is the natural sphere of Russian influence and authority. Much the same argument prompted King Solomon to the suggestion that the disputed baby should be cut in half.

Though there are obviously differences between Eastern and Western Europe, it is fatal to shut one's eyes to what they have in common, for this is far more significant than all their points of difference. Europe is no geographical expression. It is the expression of a harmony or unity in diversity: due, on the one hand, to a common faith and civilization and historical experience and, on the other, to continuous pressure from enemies without. This has always been understood in Europe. When the Turks were in occupation of the Balkans and the major portion of Hungary, they were looked upon as the *outsiders*, the *aggressors*, the *enemies* of Europe and of Christianity. Noone proposed that the Christian Emperor and the Moslem Sultan should enter into a friendly agreement, leaving Hungary and the Balkans to be a natural home of Ottoman influence. The Christian leaders, on the eve of the battle of Lepanto, were not discussing whether the Mediterranean should or should not be looked upon as a " Turkish lake ". Nor was Sobieski delayed in his march to the relief of Vienna, when it was beleaguered by Moslem armies in the summer of 1683, by the scruple that Vienna, after all, might lie within a Turkish sphere of interest in Europe. Those men understood what Europe meant, appreciated the principles of cohesion and unity which held it together, and knew also that no countries were more European in character and spirit than just those border countries, like Hungary and Poland, that were more immediately threatened by the enemy from outside. Cardinal Mindszenthy, the Primate of Hungary, was " European " in this sense when, in a sermon delivered in Budapest on 21 January

1946, he commemorated the first anniversary of the canonisation of St. Margaret of Hungary by drawing a parallel between the fifth decade of the thirteenth century, when the saint lived, and the fifth decade of the twentieth century, and by pointing out how then the Mongols, after fighting the Germans, had turned and ravaged Hungary.

In this article I would like to say a little about the position and significance of Hungary and something in greater detail about the Hungarian situation since the close of 1944. To us, who live in our Western islands Hungary seems a far-off land, so far indeed that we may fail to understand its long and close connection with the rest of Europe. The Hungarians are a people apart—a non-German, non-Latin and non-Slav enclave among neighbours belonging to all three stocks. Their language bears no resemblance at all to German or to the Slav tongues, but has certain affinities with Turkish and Finnish. The very name " Magyar " may look and sound exotic. Yet the Hungarians are a European people, in the fullest sense, and they have played no inconsiderable and no unworthy part in European history.

Like the Germans and Slavs, the Magyars came into Europe from the East. Tradition has it that they had started their southward migration before the close of the fifth century and, though a nomadic people, they remained near the Caucasus to the East of the sea of Azov for several centuries. By the ninth century we can discover them further to the West, in the plains between the rivers Dnieper and Don. The tenth century brought them into Europe, into the great Carpathian plain which they have occupied for more than a thousand years. They embraced Christianity at the same time as the Poles, under Prince Géza, grandson of Arpád, founder of the first and only completely Magyar dynasty to rule over Hungary. Géza's motives may have been largely political ; he could interpret the clear indications of the times. But his son, István or Stephen, grew up to be a very devout Christian—even an officially acknowledged saint. He was canonized in 1083, with his own son, Imre, and with Gellért, whom he had invited from Venice to Hungary to assist him in the Christianizing of his people. Stephen became Hungary's national saint and patron as well as its first crowned monarch. Stephen succeeded his father in 997. After consolidating his authority against some of his pagan relatives who disputed it, he turned to the Pope and asked for investiture as a Christian King. A special envoy brought his crown from Rome, sent him by Pope Sylvester II, together with an Apostolic Cross, to be carried before him, in recognition of his great services to the Church. This ancient crown, which was later preserved as the upper portion of the crown of Hungary, was set upon Stephen's head, according to Hungarian tradition, on Christmas Day 1000. The crown of Hungary came to have a peculiar and religious significance—partly, no doubt, on account of its association with St. Stephen. The crown of St. Stephen

as more important than the king who wore it, and it was reverenced ot only as a symbol but as the very source of national power. Hungary ecame the kingdom of a Crown rather than of a monarch. Between ie two world wars the country remained a kingdom, with Horthy as its egent. There was no king, but there was always the Hungarian Crown. nd who would seriously pretend that the official proclamation of a lungarian Republic in 1946 represented the real desires of the Magyar eople?

The saintly and Christian spirit of St. Stephen, which gave a special haracter to the development of his kingdom, emerges from the dmonitions which, in the Magyar tradition, he prescribed for his son. mong them are the following sentences:—

> If you wish the honour of kingship, love peace. Rule over all without anger, ride or hatred, but with love, tenderness, humanity. Remember always that each ie of us has the same standing: nothing exalts a man but humility; nothing umiliates more than haughtiness and hatred. . . . Peace-loving monarchs rule; .e rest are tyrants. . . . Be patient towards all men, whether they be influential destitute.[1]

After Stephen came the ups and downs of that turbulent period. owever, Hungarian solidarity had been established. Bishop Otto of reising travelled through Hungary in the twelfth century and was ipressed by the authority exercised by the king. "The Hungarians," wrote, "obey their ruler to such an extent that they consider it a sloyalty even to whisper among themselves any criticism of his person . . . and should even the most powerful among the nobles offend him e lowest servant of the court had power to place the offender under rest, even if protected by his bodyguard."[2] Bishop Otto was also ipressed by the fact that the king did not act autocratically, but listened counsel and never took an important step without lengthy consultations. e was not wholly enamoured of the Magyars, as is evident from his pressed surprise that God could have permitted so beautiful a country— referred to it as an "earthly Paradise"—to be inhabited by such igly men, who speak so dreadfully savage a language". For my part, must join issue with this Bavarian ecclesiastic. I have met many

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[1] *A History of Hungary*. By Dominic G. Kosáry, Professor of History at Bötvös lege, Budapest. Published in the U.S.A. by the Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile ciety, Cleveland and New York. 1941. P. 23.

[2] This may smack of royal absolutism. But Hungary, like Poland, is usually used of being the home of feudalism. That these Eastern countries provided liberties, always well known further West, may be seen from the provisions of Emperor Dushan's le of criminal and civil law in Serbia. Dushan reigned from 1331 to 1354. In 1349 submitted the first part, and in 1354 the second part, of this royal Code to the vote of Sabor or medieval Serbian Assembly at Skoplyé. The Code of Dushan forbade ges to execute even the Emperor's own commands, if these commands ran counter the law. Dushan's Code allowed Serbian serfs to take legal proceedings against the peror himself and decreed that judges must plead on their behalf.

Hungarians, and my impression is of a decidedly handsome people with firm features and flashing eyes. As to their language, I hazard no opinion. It might well have sounded barbaric to a German cleric brought up on German and Latin.

My references to past Hungarian history must inevitably be brief. Early in the Middle Ages the Hungarians were subject to attack from the East. In the mid-thirteenth century the Tartars, after overwhelming the Russian kingdom of Kiev, swept westwards. Their north wing penetrated into Poland, their southern wing burst through what is today Roumania towards Hungary. So were brought together Poland and Hungary as defenders of Christendom—a rôle they were to fulfil and cherish throughout many a century. The Hungarian armies were crushed in the plains of Muhi; the king sought refuge along the shores of the Adriatic. A year later the Tartars withdrew. So was Hungary saved. A very early Magyar document is in the form of a letter sent to Pope Innocent IV during the threat of a second Tartar invasion in 1253. It urged a crusade, not to the Holy Land but against the Tartars, and pointed out that the military defence of the Danube was "all Europe's concern" and not Hungary's only.

Well before the Tartar invasions, the position of Hungary as one of the leading European countries was universally acknowledged. When Béla II (1172-1196) became engaged to Margaret Capet, daughter of Louis VII of France, his annual income, according to contemporary records, amounted to 241,000 silver marks—equivalent to that of the king of England or France. Between Hungary and France the links were close. The Royal Chancellery, founded by Béla III, was staffed with clerics who had been educated in Paris. A university was established, on the French pattern, at Pécs, in 1367.

The dynasty of Arpád gave way to that of the Anjous. There followed the golden age of Hungarian history, its two most fortunate rulers, Louis the Great (1342-1382) and, after an interval of seventy years, Matthias Hunyadi or Corvinus (1458-1490). Meanwhile, the Turkish danger was growing to threatening proportions. Matthias's father, John Hunyadi, had kept back the Turks in many an epic conflict. But they had overwhelmed the Serbs at Kossovo (1389) and were masters of the Balkans. A comment upon the European sense of solidarity and on the European character of those far-off battles emerges from the fact that in their struggle against the Turks, the Serbs were assisted by ten thousand English soldiers under Prince Henry of Lancaster, cousin of King Richard II, and by fifteen thousand French troops, commanded by John, Count de Nevers, cousin of the king of France. In 1453 Constantinople was captured by the Turks, and that was the end of the Byzantine Empire. Long and manfully did the Hungarians resist, from the disaster of Kossovo until the sixteenth century. But their strength was ebbing. "I beg

Your Majesty," wrote King Louis II to Henry VIII of England, " not to permit a limb of Christendom to be torn from its trunk. We have been exhausted in the long struggle, all our strength is gone, and thus we are in no position to withstand the onslaught of the Turks." It is historic irony that the Hungarian monarch should appeal to Henry VIII to avoid a tragedy which Henry, in his own country and after a different manner, was to bring to pass ; but the basis of the appeal was the conviction, everywhere accepted, that it was Europe, not Hungary alone, that was being attacked in the plains of the Danube.

Kossovo which overwhelmed the Serbs was followed in 1526 by the battle of Mohács which destroyed the power of Hungary. Into the country surged the Turks, occupying the whole of the south and centre, including Buda. All that was left was a fringe of land to west and north, running along and beneath the line of the Carpathian mountains, and a larger portion to the east, most of Transylvania. The western and northern sections became associated with Austria, under the Habsburg ; Transylvania, cut off to the east, soon developed its more or less independent city life. The Turks remained in possession for a century and a half, and it was only after their armies had been defeated by Sobieski at the gates of Vienna in 1683 that they were forced to retire out of Hungary. Buda was recaptured in 1686.

So, through most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Hungary was, to a large extent, under Turkish occupation. This had disastrous and lasting consequences. In the reign of Matthias Corvinus, Hungary had a population of four millions, when the population of Europe amounted to eighty millions. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the total for Europe had almost doubled, whilst that of Hungary had declined to very nearly one half. Agriculture had been long neglected ; fields had run to sandy wastes. The storm of the Reformation had swept over the country, and the Turks were not slow to favour Protestantism as part of their anti-Habsburg policy. The result, when the Turks had finally departed, was that the Hungarian people was religiously divided, roughly into its present-day proportions of two-thirds Catholic, with a Protestant third, including Calvinists and Lutherans—Hungarian Protestants being, in the main, Calvinist whereas the Saxon settlers in North-Eastern Hungary were Lutherans.

The disaster of Mohács brought Hungary into the Habsburg orbit and, politically, Hungarian history became the story of her association with Austria. The countries were associated, not united. According to the Hungarian Pragmatic Sanction, embodied in an Act of 1723, every ruler was compelled to take an oath that he would observe the constitution and laws of independent Hungary, and the two countries were to be looked upon as connected *indivisibiliter et inseparabiliter* and as owing mutual assistance to each other in the event of attack from without.

Hungarian national sentiment developed strongly in the early half of the nineteenth century, to culminate in the Revolution of 1848, when Budapest was captured only by the help of Russian soldiers sent to the aid of his fellow Emperor by the Czar, Nicholas I. The names of Görgey and particularly of Kossuth are linked with this National Revolution. An uneasy interlude succeeded, to be ended with the compromise of 1867, which created the Dual Monarchy and what was henceforward known as Austria-Hungary—a condition of affairs that lasted till the collapse of 1918. It is worth remarking that Hungarian opinion grew decidedly anti-Russian and that the Hungarians, despite their own experience of the Turks' oppression, warmly sympathised with Turkey during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Nor was this sympathy confined to what are now glibly dubbed " reactionaries ". Kossuth, the revolutionary hero of 1848, favoured a federation of States in East-Central Europe, declaring that such a " Hungarian, Polish, Croatian, Serbian and Roumanian federation could not only guarantee the independence of these peoples but would be the strongest bulwark against any Russian attack." That was in 1850. Andrássy, who was Hungarian Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary from 1871, was pre-occupied with the question of defence against Russia, and it was this motive which led him, in 1879, to accept Bismarck's offer of an alliance with Germany. But it is also worth recording, and is indeed necessary to record it, that the Hungarian premier, Stephen Tisza, strongly opposed the Austrian attitude towards Serbia in July 1914, and wrote to the Emperor that the difficulties between the Dual Monarchy and the Serbs could be settled through a peaceful and more restrained diplomacy.[1]

Then came the world wars, in which, in either instance, Hungary was on the side of Germany : in the first case, as a faithful partner with Austria ; in the second, on the whole, as an unwilling and half-hearted associate of Germany, an inevitable associate because of her strategic and geographical situation. Both wars have proved disastrous for Hungary.

[1] The change in the political alignment of Continental Powers, which resulted from the rapid development of Germany after 1870 and the fact that two world wars have been fought by Britain, Russia and France against Germany have obscured, and made men forget, the points of view of a previous age. To nineteenth-century England, Russia was the potential menace, not Germany ; and Austria was a natural ally. In 1848 Palmerston told the representative of the new Hungarian Government in London, Pulszky, that, despite his sympathy with the Magyars, they should become reconciled with Austria, " because in the frame of the European State system it would be impossible to replace Austria by small states " ; " Austria," he added, " is a European necessity and the natural ally of England in the East " (c.f. *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, 1785-1919, vol. II. p. 320). Speaking on July 21, 1849, Palmerston declared : " Austria is a most important element in the balance of European power. . . . . The political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up, in my opinion, with the maintenance and integrity of Austria as a great European power ; and therefore anything which tends by direct or even remote contingency to weaken and to cripple Austria, but still more to reduce her from the position of a first-rate power to that of a secondary state, must be a great calamity to Europe and one which every Englishman ought to deprecate and try to prevent."

The Treaty of Trianon, concluded in 1920, dismembered and depopulated Hungary. It took away 71·4 per cent. of her pre-1914 territory of 125,600 square miles and 63·5 per cent. of her pre-1914 population. Some other loss percentages are as follows: arable land (61·5), timber (88), railroads (62·1), hard-surfaced roads (64·5), pig-iron output (83·1), industrial plant (55·7).[1] It was a hard treaty, unnecessarily and unwisely hard. Small wonder therefore that Hungary's foreign policy after 1920 can be epitomised in one word: Revision. Especially was this revision urged against Roumania.[2]

Et après ça le déluge . . world war no. 2. It is idle to pretend that the Hungarians were not impressed or influenced by Germany. Even prior to 1914 there had been pro-German sentiment in Hungary as though to balance a certain anti-Austrian feeling. Yet the Hungarians were scarcely free agents from 1939 onwards. Austria and Czechoslovakia were occupied by Germany. On the other side, an old friendship attached them to Poland, and there were links too between Hungary and the Western Powers. The Russian issue did not arise in 1939; for then Russia, *vis à vis* Germany, was, if not an ally, a very benevolent neutral. In Hungary Prime Minister succeeded Prime Minister, each a little more friendly to Germany and to Nazism than his predecessor. Yet the Hungarians took the war lightly and without bitterness. They mitigated the German persecution of Jews and protected its victims; they were friendly and helpful to Polish refugees and all prisoners of war. And, in fact, the actual measure of their military co-operation with Germany was neither extensive nor important.

II

From 1939 we jump at once to the close of 1944. Russian armies are streaming into the Carpathian plain. Regent and ministers have fled, though it was the Regent's envoys who concluded the armistice with the Allies. Disorder, chaos, disintegration. The retreating Germans took with them all they could: trains and transport, gold reserves, goods of every sort, archives and art treasures; they wrecked what had to be left behind. They lived off the land as they retired; the Russians lived off the land, as they advanced. Over the country swept the full tide of war. Some cities, notably Budapest, were damaged very severely. As they came forward the Russians set up a Provisional Government at Debrecen, containing three generals: one of them, the Premier, General Miklós,

[1] *Kosáry. op. cit.* p. 407.

[2] This because the peace treaties had given Transylvania to Roumania. The Allied leaders in Paris were ratifying a *fait accompli*, since Roumanian forces were in possession of the province. Yet, the Allies had held out exaggerated offers of Hungarian territory, against both geography and ethnics, in order to bring Roumania into the war in 1916. Hitler's Vienna Award of 1940 restored Northern Transylvania to Hungary. It has now been handed back to the Roumanians. The pros and cons of the Transylvanian question would require a special article.

Commander of the First Hungarian Army, who had gone over to the Russians on the Regent's instructions; a second was General Vörös, formerly Chief of the General Staff. Behind the armies came a band of Hungarian Communists who had lived in Russia since the failure of the Communist experiment in Hungary under Béla Kun. Their task was to reorganize political life. Realizing that neither the Russian armies nor Communism would make any *prima facie* appeal to the Magyars, they created a National Independence Front. This included various political groups: the *Smallholders* and *Social Democrats*, existing parties, founded to represent the smaller peasantry and industrial workers; they had been dissolved in March 1944, but continued to work underground. To these were added: *Communists*, *Trade Unions*, a group of *National Peasants*, and a further group of *Bourgeois Democrats*, a relic of an older Liberal Party. The Bourgeois Democrats were subsequently expelled from this political coalition. Together, these parties subscribed to what is known as the Szeged programme—a long document, demanding nationalisation of mines and sources of power, State ownership of certain larger industries, and a very radical land re-distribution: there were clauses too that insisted upon the punishment of Fascists, war criminals, and the like, and these have led to a large number of political trials and executions. Out of these parties, the Provisional Government was constituted with relatively equal membership.

The main problem was that of immediate relief. Conditions were appalling. The Russians requisitioned mercilessly, and just as ruthlessly and recklessly did they loot and pillage. Indiscipline, violence, rape—that was the daily catalogue of these first months of 1945. In the midst of this chaos the Land Reform was hurried through, which parcelled out the land into small holdings, regardless of the immediate needs of the people and regardless also of any provision of agricultural implements and machinery. Admittedly, the measure was as much political as social and economic; it was designed to break the power of the Magyar land-owners. A left wind was blowing over Hungary.

The Provisional Government was unable to return to Budapest till April 1945. Meanwhile, and even afterwards, local committees, hastily improvised and usually under Communist leadership, controlled events. The Russians hoped apparently that the country would swing in that direction. This was probably the main reason why free elections were permitted—first for the municipality of Budapest, then for the whole country—instead of the faked elections that were organized, for instance, in Yugoslavia. Hungarians, who were there at the time, have assured me that the elections were free, though the presence of hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers was a deterrent. When the municipal elections had shown that even in industrial Budapest Communists and Socialists together could not secure a majority, the Russians hesitated.

However, they allowed the general election to proceed, when the parties gave an assurance that, whatever the result, they would continue in a coalition Government. It took place on November 4, 1945. A famous election poster had called upon the people to vote Communist, if they desired their gallant liberators, the Red Army, to stay in the country. It took the Russians three days to realise that this had been issued by the Smallholders and was not wholly intended as a compliment. In the election the Communists secured 17 per cent. of the votes, the Socialists 18 per cent., the Smallholders roughly 60 per cent., a clear majority. The present Government is the consequence of that election. It is a coalition, with Communists in many of the key positions and exercising an authority far in excess of their popular support. The greatest political problem of present-day Hungary is just this privileged position of the Communists, enjoying Russian protection and controlling the country through a political police, largely under their jurisdiction.

Let us glance at some of Hungary's immediate difficulties. During the winter of 1945-46 the food situation and the general economic situation were catastrophic. In December Ferenc Nagy, Speaker of the new National Assembly, declared that, in comparison with the 1934-1938 average, wheat production was down by 83 per cent., rye by 67 per cent., oats by 35 per cent., cattle by 70 per cent., pigs by 85 per cent., sheep by 86 per cent., and horses by 70 per cent. On December 4th the Minister of Public Supplies asked all who had no vital reason for remaining in Budapest to leave the capital; the State railways offered evacuation facilities for students and children. The same ministry stated, on December 19th, that food stocks were running out. "We must be prepared to overcome without help from abroad the worst food crisis that has ever befallen our country." The next day, Budapest Radio announced that efforts were being made to provide an adequate minimum bread ration and one hot dish a day. By the end of December, the fuel situation was so desperate that the Minister of Justice proclaimed the death penalty for persons stealing coal. The London *Observer* for January 6th had the following paragraph :—

> The Hungarian Minister of Public Supplies has announced that Budapest bread supplies are sufficient only for another six days. This week 300,000 out of a million inhabitants of greater Budapest will no longer receive ration cards, and thus will not even have a nominal right to a share in the remaining food supplies. The tragedy of Hungary is now reaching its climax. The virtual cessation of food supplies coincides with a spell of extremely cold weather in a practically unheated city. The state of health which the undernourished population of Budapest had already reached before this final calamity can be seen from statistics which the Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Mindszenthy, included in his New Year's message. According to him, 822 live babies were born in Budapest in November, 1945, against 2,188 still-born. In this connection, it must be borne in mind that the expectant mothers were still, nominally at least, getting priority rations: also that food conditions have become much worse since November.

In his New Year message the Cardinal had declared that exposure and malnutrition were claiming a host of victims, that the people of Budapest were receiving only eight and a half per cent. of their normal milk supply, and that operating theatres and hospital wards were without any heating. He spoke also of the great number of Hungarians forcibly kept away from their country. At one time, the figure for those retained by the Germans was as high as 600,000 ; the number held by the Russians, as prisoners of war, deportees, and the like—it is claimed—is even higher.

Throughout the winter of 1945-46 the people of Hungary, especially in Budapest, suffered bitterly. With spring and summer conditions have somewhat improved. At long last, relief columns reached Hungary from Denmark and Sweden, and in January 1946 it was decided that U.N.R.R.A. assistance might be provided. Meanwhile, the country's money became useless. Inflation set in, with a speedier and wilder tempo than after 1918. Prices and wages were meaningless ; there was nothing left but barter and, for those fortunate enough to possess it, trade in foreign currency. A pound of tea or a packet of cigarettes or razor blades, sent to a friend in Hungary, meant wealth ; your millionaire—in pengös—might be destitute. As I write, I have before me two envelopes, which both arrived from Hungary, the first in May, the second in June, 1946. The former has stamps on it to the value of 160,000,000 pengös ; the latter has stamps to the amount of 1,600,000,000. And that was not the ceiling which the poor pengö reached. By the time a new unit of currency was introduced in July—the new unit is called a *forint*—the pengö had soared to astronomical figures. On July 27th, the Supreme Economic Council decided that 1 forint would equal 200,000,000,000,—000,000,000 pengös.

The plight of Hungary had been intensified by the withdrawal of Hungarian property and resources in two opposite directions. For their removal towards the West the Germans were responsible, in the first place. These are now in American hands. The Americans are slow to release them, not because they begrudge them to the Hungarians but to prevent them being confiscated by the Russians, who have already taken a great deal away in the opposite direction and, by the formation of joint Russo-Hungarian companies, have established a strangle-hold upon Hungarian industry. In the Budapest Assembly a Communist member stated, on December 21, 1945, that the following Hungarian assets were in American hands : 500 laden tugs and barges, 24,000 loaded railway waggons, 40,000 railway carriages, 1,200 locomotives, 15,000 motor vehicles, as well as large quantities of textiles and many live-stock. One of the purposes of the visit of the Hungarian delegation to Washington and London was to secure the release of some, at least, of this material. There is of course this difference between American and Russian policy. What the Americans are holding back is recognised as belonging to the

Hungarians and would be returned very shortly, if it could be returned to Hungary. What the Russians have taken is gone permanently.

That the Russians have despoiled Hungary is universally known. It is brought out clearly in a note delivered by the United States Ambassador in Moscow to M. Molotov on July 23, 1946. The note blamed Russia, in large part, for the industrial and financial chaos in Hungary and asked her to take immediate steps, in conjunction with the U.S.A. and Britain, to assist the Hungarians to restore their shattered economy. The document asserted that the Red Army had removed from Hungary, during the first half of 1945, 4,000,000 tons of wheat, rye, barley, maize and oats and had consumed almost all the available meat ration available to the urban population during the second half of that year, as also one sixth of the wheat and rye, one quarter of the vegetables, three quarters of the lard, and one fifth of the milk and dairy produce. Russia was also charged with removing 124,000,000 dollars worth of industrial plant.

The situation in Hungary is rendered more difficult and depressing by the pervading atmosphere of insecurity. A heavy air of *malaise* hangs over the land. To this have contributed the political trials, the purge of the civil and other services, the ubiquity of the political police, as of course the appalling material conditions. It is felt that, while the Russians cannot risk replacing the present Government by one more avowedly Communist, they are bringing pressure upon the Government, either directly or through its Communist members, which largely negatives the results of the November elections and the popular will. The Russians can scarcely hope for popularity. The wild indiscipline of their troops in early 1945 has left bitter memories as well as anxious fears. Though discipline has been improved and the numbers of the occupying forces reduced, there can be no question of friendliness. Nor have the Communists popularity or prestige. They are a very mixed collection. Some of them are former Social Democrats who have changed their colours from pink to red and marched off further to the left. Opportunists many of them, though not all, they are the most moderate element in the party. With them are a large number of rowdies and ex-Fascists, many of whom two years back were wearing the uniform of the Arrow Cross party and some of them released from prison and punishment, on condition that they gave their valuable services to the Communist Party. The Communist leaders are émigrés, returned from long and intensive training in the Moscow University of Revolution—men, absent from Hungary for more than twenty years, most of them Jews. M. Rakósi, Vice-Premier in the Government, is their chief personality.

This domestic uncertainty is made more uncertain still by doubts and fears about the future of the Hungarian people, inside and outside Hungary. Between Hungary and Roumania stands the vexed problem of Transylvania, where M. Groza, Premier of the Provisional Roumanian

Government, has guaranteed the rights and liberties of the Hungarian inhabitants—but where those same rights and liberties are, it appears, not infrequently outraged by subordinate officials. At the moment, Hungarian opinion seems more inflamed against Czechoslovakia. There are many Hungarians in Slovakia—settlers now for many generations—their numbers, which are disputed, may rise to the figure of 650,000. These settlers the Czechoslovak Government proposes to expel and to send back to Hungary under the pretence of an exchange of population, receiving 100,000 Slovaks from Hungary. Comment here is scarcely necessary. One of the nastiest features, and one of the most inhuman and unjust, of post-war Europe is this wholesale driving of human beings, like so many cattle, ill-cared for and ill-provided, from one region to another, because they differ in blood corpuscles or racial origin or political views. Never were national passions more violently roused or more indecently exploited. Russia has backed the cession of Transylvania to Roumania and favours the Czechoslovak claims against Hungary. But on this point, though doubtless they have to exercise discretion, the Hungarian Communists retain a national outlook.

I have mentioned the political police. In spite of the coalition Government, fundamentally anti-Communist in most of its representatives, certain other unpleasant elements of the near-totalitarian State have been developed within Hungary: " People's Courts," for instance, with juries expected to pass verdict and sentence on political rather than judicial lines. If these are not as rabid as in some other countries, that is due to the sense and decency that can still manifest itself in Hungary. What the Communists would like is a complete transformation of the legal system and a political control of the judicature. On January 9, 1946, *Szabad Nép*, the Communist newspaper, asked editorially that the police should arrest all " anti-democratic criminals " and bring them before a People's Court. To achieve this, changes would have to be made in the Hungarian judicial procedure. M. Rakósi declared in a New Year speech that the ordinary law courts and prosecutors were sabotaging the trials of anti-democratic persons and that judges and lawyers of the old regime should be excluded from these new trials which are designed to " protect and strengthen the young Hungarian democracy ".

In the midst of all this distress, the Hungarians have not lost their balance of mind or even their sense of humour and proportion. Anecdotes pass from one to another, as they did in Fascist Italy. Here is one of them :—

The Vice-Premier, Rakósi, leader of the Communist Party, is said to have been annoyed because the Smallholders' leaders attracted larger audiences than himself. So he rang up the Communist organizer of Kecskemét and told him that he would be glad to address there a public meeting, but only if an audience of 10,000 could be guaranteed. The man hesitated, but agreed eventually. In the meantime,

Rakósi heard about more Smallholder meetings, and told the Kecskemét organizer that he would speak at the meeting only on condition that the audience would consist of 20,000. At first the agent said it could not be done, but rang back later to say he had made arrangements. Later, Rakósi telephoned to this organizer, demanding an audience of 50,000, or he would not come. After more delays, the man asserted that he could manage even this. Intrigued Rakósi sent for the agent to come to Budapest, and asked him : " What on earth did you promise all these people, to make them agree to come ? Out with it, tell me the truth." The man replied eventually : " When you wanted 10,000 people, I told them that Cardinal Mindszenthy would be present. When you asked for 20,000, I told them that after the Cardinal's speech, we would beat up the political police. When you wanted 50,000, I added that we would conclude the meeting by hanging you in the main square. The whole town pledged itself to attend the meeting.

Mention of Cardinal Mindszenthy brings me to my last point—the position and attitude in present-day Hungary of the Catholic Church. The Church enjoys to-day very great prestige. Bishops and priests remained with their flocks throughout the invasion. They have organized relief and fulfilled the corporal works of mercy ; have pleaded for order and restraint ; have protected the victims of persecution. In August 1946, Cardinal Mindszenthy, in a letter to the Prime Minister, asked for an amnesty for political prisoners. There is evidence of widespread religious revival. On May 5th, for instance, the Cardinal led a pilgrimage to the shrine of Maria Reméte, ten miles from Budapest. Some 70,000 men took part. On its return to Budapest, great crowds assembled outside the cathedral of St. Stephen and in the streets nearby ; one correspondent speaks of the presence of 200,000 men. The Cardinal preached a sermon, in which he declared :—

> Hungarian Catholics must learn the lesson taught by their graveyards. The living can lie, but the dead cannot, and we must unswervingly follow their admonitions . . . Let us be true to the Blessed Virgin, to the Church, to its institutions, to our fatherland, to the faith and morals of our ancestors. This is our strength, our hope and our consolation. Let us, Catholics, who represent two thirds of the population, vow with all our moral strength to offer our work to the reconstruction of Hungary. Let us promote decency, justice, peace and solidarity, so that these rule our country again.

Cardinal Mindszenthy has played a very prominent part in the rough-and-ready reconstruction of Hungary during the past eighteen months. He has not hesitated to advise and warn, to denounce injustice in open letters and pastorals, as he has refuted attack and innuendo from the Left-wing Press and Radio.

It is from this source, supported by the organs of the Red Army, that attacks upon the Church have developed. From time to time, under Communist pressure, the Government has taken some step or other involving the rights and duties of the Church. During the " Land Reform," Church property was confiscated, compensation being promised. In March 1946, M. Rakósi admitted that compensation had not been

paid, adding the convenient excuse that, when it was promised, they could not foresee that the Church would become " the stronghold of reactionary activities ". If this Bolshevik expression be translated into honest English, this means that, in Communist eyes, the Catholic Church in Hungary is the stronghold of normal and decent Hungarian national feeling, within which is preserved an appreciation of moral and Christian values, a sense of the dignity of the human person, his right to certain " freedoms," especially from fear and injustice and destitution, and a desire that Hungary shall be an independent country once again, ruled by Hungarians for their common good and in their common interest. The Church has become the focus not only of religious loyalties but also of truly national hopes, and the Cardinal is the outstanding figure among his people.

This year a definite policy of action against the Church is being promoted by the Communists. They have to move cautiously, for the Church is strong in Hungary and the faith is old and deep. However, they are working along very familiar lines—the lines adopted by the German Nazis. There is the campaign against Catholic schools, many of which have been taken over—among them some of the most famous schools in Hungary. There is also the campaign against Catholic associations, again strongly reminiscent of the Nazi attack on German Catholic societies. During July 1946, literally hundreds of associations were dissolved : among them the Catholic University Association, the Boy Scouts and many religious bodies.

As in other Continental countries, so in Hungary is there welcome co-operation between Catholics and Protestants. From time to time a Protestant " protest " is recorded : for example, that made to the deputy of the Prime Minister on June 19, 1946, by the Lutherean Bishop Kapi and the Moderator Radvánszky against the anti-religious attitude of many provincial officials. The Government is conscious of this opposition and, uneasy because of the presence of the Russians, it issued an appeal, on August 2nd, asking the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, to explain to their congregations that the Red Army had liberated Hungary, had shown respect to the Christian denominations, and had enabled the country to pass through an important yet bloodless revolution. I have no information as to the number or quality of the sermons upon this theme.

In a word, Hungary has passed and is still passing through a period of great distress and insecurity. Its Governments have made mistakes and, for those mistakes, its people are suffering severely. They need our understanding and sympathy as they require our material help. I finish this on the feast day of St. Stephen—a feast they celebrate on August 20th. He is their national saint and patron, as he was their first crowned king. May he protect that country over which he ruled and the people who have always revered his name and memory !

JOHN MURRAY

MICHAEL DAVITT, 1846-1906

A SURVEY AND APPRECIATION

BY PROFESSOR T. W. MOODY, F.T.C.D.

PART II: 1881-90*

(iv) 1881-2

DAVITT'S second arrest and the revocation of his ticket-of-leave were widely regarded as high-handed and unfair, if not illegal. He had not repeated the offences for which he had been convicted in 1870; he had distinguished himself by his condemnation of violence; and he had not broken the conditions of his ticket-of-leave save on the technical point of not having reported himself monthly to the police. But the government had just failed egregiously in a prosecution of Parnell and other league leaders for conspiracy; Davitt, the 'father' of the league, was vulnerable as his colleagues were not; and the law officers of the crown had advised the government in favour of revoking his ticket-of-leave. So Davitt resumed his career of penal servitude, this time in Portland Prison.

But this second term of imprisonment was very different from the first. For one thing, there were now millions of Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic for whom Davitt was an object of deep concern, and who were determined that his Dartmoor experiences should not be repeated: news of his arrest caused great public excitement, and there was an uproar in the house of commons—from which Parnell and all his party were suspended after defying the authority of the chair. Then too, Gladstone and the home secretary, Harcourt, who had yielded reluctantly to pressure in arresting Davitt, were genuinely anxious to spare him unnecessary hardship, and the prison governor was instructed accordingly. To facilitate the relaxation of the prison discipline in his favour, Davitt was given a cell in the prison infirmary; he was placed on a liberal diet and, instead of the ordinary convict routine, was allowed to work in the infirmary garden, to read books of his own choosing, and to write. But he was denied all contact with the outer world: newspapers were forbidden, and though a few friends, such as Mrs. A. M. Sullivan (for whom Harcourt seems to have had a high regard), were permitted to visit him, political topics were ruled out of the conversation.

Still, Portland was tolerable enough, and was indeed a blessing to Davitt in that it gave him an interval of much-needed rest and unwonted opportunity for reading and thinking. He was thus enabled to study

* Part I appeared in the last issue (June 1946).

some of the major problems of contemporary society and to clarify his views about them. One outcome of this was his first book, *Leaves from a prison diary*, completed in 1884 and published the following year. It is in the form of a course of lectures delivered to ' Joe ', the blackbird which he tamed and which, for several months, was the companion of his cell in Portland. The book is distinguished by its serenity, its good humour, its wealth of anecdote, its searching treatment of the problem of crime and punishment, and its reflections on education, poverty, the rights of labour, state control of the means of production, the government of Britain, and British imperialism. In many of the reform-proposals which the book contains, Davitt showed prophetic insight into the trend of future social policy.

He had a faith like that of Thomas Davis in the value of popular education, through the agency not only of schools and evening classes but also of libraries, museums, art galleries, popular lectures and concerts. He visualised a system of free public education up to fifteen years of age, including ' shelter schools ' (kindergarten) for children from four to seven and higher elementary schools for those from thirteen to fifteen. The curriculum of these schools should be extended by the introduction of manual and vocational instruction, adapted to the age and sex of the children ; home-lessons should be abolished and a free meal provided at midday for all school-children—' this latter provision I hold to be an indispensable one in any scheme of enlightened educational reform '. Facilities for higher education, whether in secondary schools and universities or in evening classes, should be made available to all children qualified to profit by it. It should be made obligatory on all local authorities, with assistance from the exchequer, to provide free libraries ; the great central libraries should be required to lend books to small local libraries ; in every town of 5,000 inhabitants a museum and art gallery should be associated with the library ; and from time to time loan-exhibitions should be organised by the British Museum and similar bodies and sent to tour the provinces.

From the evil of ignorance Davitt turned to the evil of poverty. Attributing it fundamentally to control of the means of production by a small class of landowners and capitalists, he proposed as remedies national ownership of the land, industrial cooperation, and the extension of both public enterprise and state regulation of industry. Davitt was anything but a doctrinaire socialist. ' No one can say absolutely what is and what is not the duty of the state. It is for every successive generation in any given community to say what duties shall be discharged independently by individuals or collectively by the state.'[1] Public ownership of such undertakings as posts and telegraphs, gas and water, was just and reasonable,

[1] *Leaves from a prison diary*, ii. 128.

and Davitt looked forward to the addition, *inter alia*, of railways to the list; but he doubted whether it would ever be necessary for the state to become a universal employer. On the other hand, he believed emphatically that the state should be the universal landlord. Adopting the views of Henry George (whose *Progress and poverty* had appeared in 1879) as to the injustice and inexpediency of private property in land, he put forward George's remedy of taxing all land up to its full value, exclusive of improvements, and abolishing all other taxes. But he went further than George in insisting that the land should be directly owned and administered by the state. Land was a commodity of a unique kind: it was no man's creation; it was essential to all life; and it was fixed in quantity. Private monopoly in land meant that the landlord appropriated most of the wealth produced by labour, returning only a bare living to the labourer. Under national ownership, the tenant would enjoy the full product of his labour. He would have in effect a freehold in his farm, subject to a tax equal to the annual value of the bare land, and subject also to such conditions as (i) that the land should be cultivated, (ii) that it should not be sub-divided beyond certain limits, (iii) that it should not be larger than the tenant could personally manage, (iv) that the state should have the right to authorise mines and minerals to be worked, while providing reasonable compensation to the tenant for any disturbance or injury to his occupancy. Furthermore national ownership would put an end to speculative land-values and thus help to increase the wages of industry. It would throw open to cultivation millions of acres then lying waste or used only as game-preserves; the state would promote the settlement on such land of people able and willing to work it and would undertake large-scale drainage schemes where necessary.

Comparing the foregoing solution of the land problem with peasant proprietorship, Davitt argued that the mere multiplication of landowners would not remove the evils inherent in the institution of private property in land; that peasant proprietorship would not get rid of rent but merely capitalise it; and that it would benefit neither the agricultural labourers nor the industrial workers. 'By what right are the public funds or the public credit to be utilised for the benefit of a section of the community merely? If public money or public credit is to be used at all, it ought to be used for the public good and not exclusively for the good of a portion of the public only.'[1] But, as we can now see, the tide was setting irresistibly in favour of peasant proprietorship in Ireland, and Davitt's faith in land-nationalisation was to encounter endless disappointment and ultimate defeat. In 1902 he wrote: 'I still hold fondly and firmly to this great principle, and I believe a national ownership to be the only true meaning of the battle-cry of the Land League—the Land for the

[1] *Leaves from a prison diary*, ii. 99.

People—but there are some faiths which cannot move Irish mountains, and I have to confess that mine has proved to be one of them '. [1]

(v) 1882-90

On Davitt's removal to Portland, Dillon took his place on the Land League executive, Egan transferred the financial headquarters of the league to Paris for safety, and the fight went on with undiminished fury. A coercion act, which became law in March 1881, empowered the Irish executive to imprison any person ' reasonably suspected ' of treasonable or agrarian offences, and with the help of this new weapon Forster redoubled his hopeless attempt to restore peace in Ireland by the method of repression. But the coercion act was quickly followed by a far-reaching remedial measure—Gladstone's land act of 1881, based on the principle of the ' three Fs ' (fair rent, fixity of tenure, and freedom for the tenant to sell his interest), which had been the limit of the tenants' demands prior to the land war. It transformed the landlord-tenant relationship and in effect introduced a system of dual ownership. But it fell far short of the Land League's demand for a peasant proprietary and, within its own limits, was open to serious criticism from the tenants' standpoint. The league therefore declined to call off the agitation till the land act had been thoroughly tested. The government took this as a challenge : the leaders of the Land League—Dillon, Brennan, and finally Parnell himself—were arrested under the coercion act, and the league itself was suppressed as a criminal association (20 Oct. 1881). But the direction of the agitation was taken over by the Ladies' Land League, liberally supplied with funds by Egan from Paris. With the steadying influence of the male leaders removed, more extreme and less scrupulous men gained control in the localities. Crime and outrage multiplied alarmingly ; while coercion, applied with dogged energy by Forster, missed its mark.

British public opinion began to recoil against the Forster regime and it became intolerable to Gladstone himself. Equally the spectacle of Ireland a prey to irresponsible extremists became intolerable to Parnell. So negotiations were opened between Parnell and Gladstone which resulted in the ' Kilmainham treaty ', whereby Gladstone agreed to settle the arrears question and otherwise improve on the land act of 1881, Parnell agreeing to slow-down the agrarian agitation and to cooperate with the liberals in restoring peace to Ireland. This compact at once resulted in the resignation of Forster and the release of Parnell, Dillon and James O'Kelly from Kilmainham jail (May 2). Two days later Queen Victoria wired to the home secretary : ' Is it possible that M. Davitt, known as one of the worst of the treasonable agitators, is also to be released ? I cannot believe it.' [2] None the less Davitt was set free on May 6. His first news of the

[1] *Some suggestions for a final settlement of the land question*, pp. 6-7.
[2] A. G. Gardiner, *The life of Sir William Harcourt*, i. 434-5.

Kilmainham treaty came from Parnell himself, who, with Dillon and O'Kelly, met him at Portland and escorted him to London. When the full import of Parnell's new policy dawned on him, Davitt felt it to be a major disaster. Parnell, he considered, had surrendered the Land League in return for a very limited concession, at a time when the strength of the forces generated by the league was being thoroughly appreciated by Gladstone. He had begun to swing the national movement back into a strictly constitutional course just when, by persisting in the semi-revolutionary policy of the league, he might have gained home rule itself.

The Phoenix Park murders (6 May 1882) completed the ruin of the Land League. Parnell was so profoundly shaken that he was only with difficulty deterred from retiring into private life. Davitt showed much more coolness in this crisis, though no one more bitterly deplored nor more emphatically denounced the Park murders. It was chiefly Davitt who wrote the manifesto denouncing the crime that was published over the names of Parnell, Dillon, and himself. Parnell quickly recovered his composure, and he took full advantage of the new situation to force the Kilmainham policy upon the left-wing elements of his party. His resolution never again to be involved in extra-parliamentary agitation was decisively strengthened : it was not long before he insisted on killing the Ladies' Land League by cutting off its supplies.

Few of his contemporaries had a better appreciation of Parnell's greatness than Davitt : he looked on Parnell as the one man of his day who could lead the nation to victory in the fight for self-government. But Davitt was incapable of that subservience to the Chief which was increasingly characteristic of Parnell's lieutenants. Davitt conceived his proper function to be that of free-lance supporter of Parnell, but he found it exceedingly difficult to maintain that relationship. These two men, who made so deep an impression upon the same people, were in most ways the antithesis of each other—in birth and upbringing, in the circumstances of their youth and rise to power, in education, in temperament, in mind, and, above all, in character. Parnell was fundamentally a conservative, Davitt a revolutionary reformer. ' Parnell ', it has been well said, ' was dedicated to the concrete, and had to have something tangible upon which to direct his energy. Davitt, on the other hand, could feel an abstraction deeply. No man of his time was more devoted to ideas as distinct from facts.' [1] Parnell, whose ancestral roots were English, hated the English ; Davitt, who sprang from the Gaelic common people, hated English injustice but on the whole liked the English. Both men were shy, proud, passionate, and fiercely independent. But while, on the surface, Parnell showed far greater restraint than Davitt, in the power of inward self-control Davitt was far superior to Parnell. Davitt was prepared to

[1] M. M. O'Hara, *Chief and tribune : Parnell and Davitt*, p. 70.

swallow his pride and subordinate his own desires to the interests of the cause that he served ; had Parnell been able to do that, the course of Irish history might have been very different.

From 1882 Davitt was never again to wield such power as he had wielded during the Land League years, but he continued to be a major force in the national movement. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. He was much more to the left than Parnell and the majority of the party, yet he was invincibly opposed to the extreme physical-force men and the terrorists, whose dynamite operations were a feature of the 'eighties. While his British opponents taunted him with approving of assassination, doctrinaire Fenians condemned him as a renegade and humanitarian. As one of the principal links between the nationalists at home and in America, he had to contend with the baffling tangle of competing dogmas, personal animosities, and underground intrigues that now characterised the American movement. Possessing the confidence of probably the large majority of the Irish Americans, he used his influence to restrain the advocates of violence and promote a united front in support of Parnell's leadership ; yet he was constantly exposed to unscrupulous attack not only from such as O'Donovan Rossa, representing the lunatic fringe of the dynamite school, but also from his former ally, the realist John Devoy. The hostility with which, from 1880, Devoy pursued Davitt seems to have sprung, fundamentally, from Devoy's overmastering passion to dominate the entire nationalist movement in America through his own section of the Clan-na-Gael. His feud with Davitt was only one of a number, and it was conducted with characteristic ruthlessness and dishonesty.

Through all such difficulties Davitt pursued his way, not without many bruises and disappointments, but without loss of his fighting ardour or lowering of his standards. He wanted to revive the land agitation and direct it towards the goal of nationalisation ; to link the cause of the agricultural labourers and the urban workers with that of the tenant farmers ; to identify the Irish national movement with the cause of the British working classes (whose political significance was enormously increased by the franchise act of 1884) and to make the Irish party the champion of their interests in parliament. He began to campaign on these issues in 1882 ; but though he made some headway in Britain and America, he was never able to win Parnell over to his programme.

After a visit to America, where he won general approval among Irish Americans for a revival of the land agitation, Davitt induced Parnell to form a new national organisation to replace the suppressed Land League. But in the framing of the new body, the National League, Parnell defeated Davitt's intentions. The first objective of the National League was home rule ; land reform, including peasant proprietorship, came second ; and the whole organisation was controlled by the parliamentarians, to the

exclusion of old Land Leaguers of the Egan-Brennan type. To Davitt this was a poor substitute for the Land League, but he gave it loyal support while asserting his right to advocate a more advanced policy. His disappointment with the National League was well founded : its principal function proved to be that of an efficient electioneering machine for the home rule party. Some twenty years later, looking back on the events of this time, Davitt described the formation of the National League as marking ' in a sense, the overthrow of a movement and the enthronement of a man, the replacing of nationalism by Parnellism '.[1]

A recurrence of severe rural distress in the west marked the autumn of 1882. In the hope of spurring the government into prompt relief-measures, Davitt delivered an inflammatory speech at Navan (Nov. 26), in which he urged the tenants everywhere to withhold rent for the next six months but, wherever possible, to pay the money into a national relief fund (an anticipation of the Dillon-O'Brien ' plan of campaign ' of 1886). This speech brought him a third term of imprisonment—four months in Richmond Bridewell, Dublin (Feb.-June 1883). Here he was treated indulgently, his principal hardship being the interruption of his correspondence with the American Press, which was now his main source of income and was bringing in an ample salary. On 25 March 1883 he wrote in his diary :

> This is my 37th birthday, and . . . like nine previous occurrences of a similar kind is spent in prison. On the 25th of March in the years 1871-2-3-4-5-6 and 7, I was in Dartmoor convict prison. On that date in 1881-2 I was in Portland convict prison. The present is the only occasion upon which I have been allowed to celebrate my birthday in an *Irish* prison. Perhaps this may be the reason why it is the pleasantest of the half score.

Emerging from prison for the third time in June 1883, Davitt resumed his campaigning among working-men in Britain, particularly on the subject of land nationalisation. He spoke in support of Henry George at a lecture which the latter gave in Dublin on 9 April 1884. At this point Parnell delivered his first public attack on Davitt, condemning both his nationalisation programme and his confidence in the British workers (April 15). It was expected that Davitt would rush to answer the challenge. He could have started a dangerous secession movement, and would probably have received strong American backing for it. Instead, he decided, in the interests of national unity, to keep silence. To one of his intimate friends he wrote :

> I have made up my mind to suffer and be silent, rather than offer amusement and satisfaction to the *real* enemy at the spectacle of a divided house. . . . It is for those who are in advance, men who both follow and advocate principle, to show the example of self-government.[2]

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[1] *Fall of feudalism*, pp. 377-8.
[2] Davitt to Richard McGhee, April 1884.

The year 1884 proved very strenuous for Davitt : besides much public speaking and press correspondence, he completed his first book (*Leaves from a prison diary*), for which the publishers Chapman and Hall paid him £400. He ended the year run-down and in need of rest, but with a comfortable cash balance ; and this enabled him to spend the first half of 1885 on a tour through France, Italy, and Palestine. Travel, it may be noted, was something of a passion with Davitt—perhaps it was his way of revenging himself on the fate that consigned nearly ten years of his life to prison. Beginning in 1878, he visited the U.S.A. seven times, travelled round the world in 1895, went to South Africa in 1900, and paid three visits to Russia in 1903-5, besides innumerable journeys throughout Ireland and Great Britain.

From his Mediterranean tour Davitt returned home, refreshed in body and mind, in June 1885, just when Gladstone had been defeated and the conservatives restored to office through the action of the Irish party. Parnell was led to believe that the conservatives would carry home rule as the price for continued Irish support. Davitt did his utmost to convince Parnell that he was deceived and that the best hope for home rule lay in Gladstone. Parnell was not convinced, and in the general election of November 1885 he threw all the weight of his influence with the Irish in Great Britain against the liberals. The result of the election proved the wisdom of Davitt's advice. The turnover of the Irish vote in Great Britain caused a loss to the liberals estimated at from 20 to 40 seats. In the new parliament, Parnell held the balance between liberals and conservatives, but the party he had backed was outnumbered by its opponents and would have nothing to do with home rule. So Parnell expelled the conservatives, and Gladstone returned to office with home rule as his primary objective (Feb. 1886). But not all the liberal party followed him, and his home rule bill was defeated by 30 votes (June 1886). The ensuing general election was a decisive victory for the conservatives, and there was never another chance for home rule during Parnell's lifetime. To Davitt, Gladstone's conversion to home rule seemed to express a growing desire on the part of Englishmen to do justice to Ireland, and he was whole-heartedly in favour of giving Gladstone's policy a fair trial. It was largely for this reason that he yielded to Parnell's appeal not to take part in the new agrarian agitation, known as the ' plan of campaign ', launched by Dillon and William O'Brien in October 1886.

A new phase in Davitt's personal life began in December 1886 with his marriage to Mary Yore, an Irish American living at Oakland, California. She brought him abiding happiness and the solace of home and family that he had lacked for so long. In the haven that Mary Davitt created for him, his restless spirit found refreshment and peace, and the gaiety that was in him had free play. His marriage was made the occasion for the only public testimonial to his work for Ireland that he could be induced

to accept—the gift to his wife of the house at Ballybrack that came to be called Land League Cottage.

Davitt was prominently involved in the two great crises which marked the remaining years of Parnell's career—first, the attempt of *The Times* to ruin Parnell and the home rule movement, and, second, the O'Shea divorce. The charges of complicity in crime which *The Times* began to publish in March 1887 led to the setting up, in 1888, of a special commission before which, in effect, the national movement since 1879 was put on its trial. To Parnell, as to most of his supporters, the crux of the whole business was the Pigott forgeries. When these had been shown up for what they were and Parnell's reputation had thereby been vindicated before public opinion, Parnell lost interest in the inquiry and presently withdrew from the commission's proceedings. To Davitt, however, the forged letters were only one incident in a vast campaign of defamation against the Irish people which had to be fully met and countered. He threw all his energies into this task, appearing before the court not only as a witness but also as a principal in his own defence. He showed extraordinary dexterity and alertness in unravelling the conspiracy behind the forged letters and in tracing their authorship to Pigott. But when Pigott had been disposed of and Parnell had withdrawn from the court, Davitt continued to follow the proceedings, and finally grappled with all the general charges of *The Times* against the Land League in a lucid and powerful speech that lasted five days (24-31 Oct. 1889). Published as a separate work under the title *Defence of the Land League* (1890), it remains an indispensable authority on its subject and a revealing document for the personality of its author.

The report of the commission, issued in February 1890, was in the main an acquittal of Parnell. After him, Davitt came in for most attention. He was found (*a*) to have taken part in the Land League ' with the intention, by its means, to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation '; (*b*) to have been conspicuous among those who expressed *bona fide* disapproval of crime and outrage without denouncing the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage; (*c*) to have been ' in close . . . association with the party of violence in America, and mainly instrumental in bringing about the alliance between that party and the Parnellite . . . party in America '.[1]

The sittings of the special commission had scarcely ended when the O'Shea divorce question broke upon the public.[2] In the tragic crisis that followed, Davitt, alone of the leading nationalists who turned against Parnell, has a perfectly consistent record. He wrote in his diary on 1 January 1890:

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[1] *Special commission act, 1888: reprint of proceedings* (1890), xii.
[2] O'Shea filed his petition for divorce on 24 Dec. 1889.

The Parnell-O'Shea business still talk of town. Most people spoken to seem to think it won't do Parnell much harm ' anyway '. This huge mistake. O'Shea being cuckold does not lessen much (if any) the crime (if ever committed) of adultery with another man's wife. If O'S. proves his case, P. must step down and out. I hope sincerely he will come out all right.

There was much whispered speculation among the Parnellites, and much wishful thinking, but no one except Davitt had the courage to question Parnell about the danger that threatened. Parnell tried to deflect the question by attacking Davitt for his recent labour activities in Ireland—he had founded the Irish Democratic Labour Federation at Cork on 21 January 1890:

I don't approve of your labour organisation in the south of Ireland; it will lead to mischief and can do no good . . . . . What is trades-unionism but a landlordism of labour? I would not tolerate, if I were at the head of a government, such bodies as trades-unions. They are opposed to individual liberty and should be kept down, as Bismarck keeps them under in Germany . . . . . .

There is yet another consideration I want to insist upon. You are overlooking Mr. Gladstone's position and difficulties. Any agitation in Ireland, except one making directly for home rule, increases the obstacles he has to contend against over here. It diverts attention from the main issue of our movement, and your new labour organisation in Cork will frighten the capitalist liberals and lead them to believe that a parliament in Dublin might be used for the purpose of furthering some kind of Irish socialism.[1]

But Davitt was not to be side-tracked, and Parnell finally gave an assurance that he would emerge from the O'Shea business ' without a stain on his name or reputation '. But when the divorce proceedings opened on 15 November 1890, the suit was not defended, and O'Shea's version of Parnell's liaison with his wife over the preceding ten years was presently on everybody's lips.

To Davitt no other course was now possible than to insist on Parnell's resignation. Parnell was morally disgraced; his continued leadership would imperil the cause to which he had rendered such splendid service; his duty lay in sacrificing his pride and temporarily withdrawing from public life. To say, as his lieutenants were doing, that the issue was between loyalty to the Chief and submission to English dictation was mischievous self-delusion, and an incitement to Parnell's worst instincts. So on 22 November 1890, before either Gladstone or the catholic bishops of Ireland had made their pronouncements, Davitt, through his newly-founded paper, the *Labour World*, called on Parnell to retire. For a few days he stood alone among the nationalists. Then, on November 26, the Irish M.P.s who, the previous day, had rushed headlong into reelecting Parnell as sessional chairman, as impetuously set about deposing him. And so the suicidal split began, with Davitt (to his own surprise) on the side of the majority against Parnell.

T. W. Moody

[1] Davitt, *Fall of feudalism*, p. 636.

(To be continued.)

ARISTOTLE'S "POLITICS" IN WESTERN TRADITION

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY

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"WE shall never be rid of Antiquity," said Jacob Burckhardt, "unless or until we have become barbarians again." If the great Swiss historian were alive to-day, he might be induced by the present state of Europe to feel that what he meant as a rather improbable hypothesis has turned into a prophecy. The wreckage of a continent has followed on the systematic and long-continued rejection of tradition. It has been said that the effect of the eighteenth-century "Enlightenment" was to teach mankind to regard the traditional political and social system as a mass of abuses fit only to be swept away. The progress has been direct from the movement which uprooted the *ancien régime* to the agnostic or nihilistic radicalism which in our own day has almost achieved the final ruin of the West.

Contempt for tradition has by this time almost become traditional in the most "advanced" centres of what still calls itself civilised society. There is a certain grim appropriateness in the fact that in the present year a shattered world should be celebrating the ninetieth birthday of a man whose active life has been devoted to the undermining of such traditional values as were still left when he came to manhood. Admiration for Mr. Shaw's lively and essentially kind-hearted personality has misled innumerable admirers of his into forgetting that his great function has all along been that of a ruthless and skilful destroyer. The sparkle and vigour of his manner has effectively concealed the absence from his anarchical teaching of any positive element except a kind of sugar-coated Marxism. Now Marxism is in all its forms the most scientific synthesis of the modern "revolution of destruction". Drastically reducing all life to a mixture of politics and economics, it leaves no room for either tradition in art or literature or for the traditional practices of religion.

On the very eve of collapse, men in every country are searching desperately for some means of defence against the relentless advance of what they now realise is barbarism. Unfortunately many if not most of the defences proposed are of the nature of plans for victory by way of surrender. Their proposers are still obsessed with the idea of carrying on the fight against tradition, while in a bewildered way purporting to save such parts of it as appeal to them. This is the case particularly

with many of those who have lately "reverted" from communism or communist sympathies, like Mr. George Orwell, Mr. Arthur Koestler, and Mr. Victor Gollancz. Thus the last of the three, in his impressive and obviously sincere book, *Our Threatened Values*,[1] sets out to defend liberalism because of its respect for personality (a sentiment whose Christian origin he fully recognises) but asserts that "in the world of to-day liberalism can only preserve itself by flowering into socialism". He then proceeds to limit the flowering process very severely by a doctrine about ends and means which he has probably taken from Mr. Aldous Huxley. It is the sound and true doctrine that, of course, noble aims do not sanctify wicked means. But it is a doctrine the validity of which socialism in its classic manifestations—notably its Marxian form—has up to now never recognised.

In any case when we speak of our values being threatened we normally mean more than the values associated with the very vague movement called liberalism. Mr. Gollancz himself speaks freely of Christian values, though naturally he writes as a Jew. Western civilisation is a whole complex pattern, no part of which can be destroyed or rejected without weakening the remainder. Historically of course it is an inheritance from the Christian Middle Ages, and its present parlous condition is largely the result of the activities of men who ever since the seventeenth century have been acting on the assumption that they could reject the Christianity and still remain civilised. This fallacy in turn springs from the fact that Western civilisation is by no means entirely Christian in origin. Large elements in it come down to us from the dawn of the Age of Metals in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and a still larger part derives from the experience and thought of pagan Greece. Probably the most disastrous mistake made by the leading spirits of the Renaissance—a mistake which still plagues the world—was the belief that these elements or strands could be dissociated from one another.

The only way to defend civilisation is to defend it as a whole. Defence is action, and must be inspired not only by knowledge but by the mixture of intellect and will which is belief or faith. If at the moment it is not easy to expect a revival of belief in the total value—not "values," as if some selection were implied—of Western civilisation, at least we can do something to understand what was this precious inheritance we have come so near to losing. This is what gives special importance to the appearance of a new translation of Aristotle's *Politics*,[2] edited by one of England's greatest scholars. It is of course true that excellent translations of this fundamental document already exist; but it happens to be one of the few books which need to be freshly presented

[1] London: Gollancz. 1946. 5s. net.

[2] *The Politics of Aristotle.* Translated with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes, by Ernest Barker. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Cumberlege. 1946. 15s. net.

in its own idiom to every new generation. As Sir Ernest Barker remarks in his preface, it is "a book which is needed—and needed in modern dress and in a modern English idiom—by the 'general reader' of all the Anglo-Saxon world". In this convenient volume, produced at a remarkably low price considering its quality, the "general reader" is sure to find himself adequately supplied with all that he requires. An introduction of seventy-six pages gives a lucid but full account of the historical background of the *Politics*, the life, personality, and manner of thought of its author, his school and his literary output, and the composition of the treatise itself. On all these matters Sir Ernest is a foremost authority, having written the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on Aristotle as well as a familiar and valuable text-book on his political thought. Students of a more specialised kind will be interested to discover that all attempts at finding early and late strata in the *Politics*, after the fashion of Jaeger, are here decisively abandoned. Instead we are invited (as indeed Jaeger was the pioneer in suggesting) to consider the book not as a unity in the ordinary sense but as a series of loosely-connected discussions.

There follows a long and very valuable chapter on "The Substance and Argument of the *Politics*," in which its doctrine is admirably analysed and its influence estimated, and an equally valuable one on its vocabulary. Probably no part of the book is likely to be so helpful to the general reader as this latter chapter. Without pedantry, but in the most exact scientific fashion and with the easy knowledge of the true expert, Sir Ernest analyses and discusses the meaning and usage in Greek political theory of a host of terms like *polis*, *dike*, *nomos*, *kyrion*, which constantly recur in the *Politics* and without an understanding of which it cannot be understood. Next comes the translation, in the traditional order of the books and with the traditional divisions carefully indicated for reference purposes. A very convenient division into parts according to subject-matter, which is due to the editor, greatly facilitates the task of following the sometimes complex argument. The translation is copiously annotated throughout, many of the notes being excellent little treatises in themselves. Finally there are five appendixes in which all the relevant illustrative material from Aristotle's other works is assembled, translated, and fully discussed. Both Aristotle and his master Plato were passionate believers in the necessity of education as a basis for right action and the good life. The widespread use in Anglo-Saxon countries of this book as a starting-point for the study of politics should do much to help in the task of saving or restoring the fundamental concepts of Western civilisation. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the careful reading and contemplation of the *Politics* should be a necessity for all educated men.

The Greek word *barbaros* originally meant simply anybody speaking an unintelligible language, but by Aristotle's time its meaning had

developed in a very significant way. To the cultivated Greeks of the fourth century, who had undergone the systematic educational process known as *paideia*, the barbarian was in the first place a person without *nomos* or *dike*, law or justice. In the second place, and, as a consequence, he was an unfree person, "a slave by nature," and thus unfit for the life of a citizen. Aristotle has often been criticised for his attitude towards slavery, which like all Greeks he tended to regard as something given by nature and thus unavoidable. The criticism is the consequence of reading back into the fourth century B.C. the reactions of nineteenth-century Christians against the African slave-trade. Nowadays, when men are once more conscious of barbarism as a real alternative to civilisation, it is more instructive to set Aristotle's theory of slavery in the light of that alternative.

Aristotle shared with all thoughtful Greeks the view that what made civilisation was *nomos* and *dike*, two terms whose exact meaning will be found fully elucidated in Sir Ernest Barker's introduction. They are the foundations of the *Polis*, which we must be careful to remember is not equivalent to our modern "State," but is at once wider and narrower in meaning. The *Polis* is the unit of civilised society, wherein alone men can reach the natural term of their development, moving from potency to act as beings capable of freedom. Outside it lies the vast and formless area of barbarism, where there is no possibility of such development because *nomos* and *dike* are unknown and men are by nature subject to despotism. "Man, when perfected," says the second chapter of the *Politics*, "is the best of animals; but if he be isolated from law and justice he is the worst of all. Injustice is all the graver when it is armed injustice; and man is furnished from birth with arms (*i.e.*, capacities such as speech) which are intended to serve the purposes of moral prudence and virtue, but which may be used in preference for opposite ends. . . . Justice, which is his salvation, belongs to the *Polis*."

Despotism, on the other hand, simply meant rule without law or justice, the rule of a master over slaves, and it was the natural form of rule for barbarians. Aristotle, as is well known, advised his pupil, Alexander, to rule the Greeks as their leader and the barbarians as their master, an advice which Alexander was unwilling to take. In Greek thought, Law and Justice were attributes of the supreme god, Zeus, and we possess in the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus a most interesting poetical and symbolical account of how they came to belong to him. Lawlessness and Injustice belonged to the sphere of the "old" god, Kronos, and his companions, the Titans, who symbolised the uncivilised ancestors of the Greeks, as did also the Satyrs, companions of Dionysus. This is why, at the festivals of both divinities, slaves were admitted to equal privileges with freemen. Their presence was a token that for the time being *Nomos* and *Dike* were in suspense.

The modern concept of the State, with its suggestion of over-riding authority, is foreign to the Greek *Polis*, and, as a matter of fact, can trace its ancestry through Renaissance Italy and imperial Rome to the very oriental despotism which Aristotle regarded as fit only for barbarians. So, too, with the concept of sovereignty. It derives from the *maiestas*, the "superiority" or grandeur resident in the Roman princeps, intensified as this was under oriental influence. The nearest equivalent Greek term, *to kyrion*, meant the organ of the *Polis* which validates the acts of magistrates—themselves by no means regarded as invested with sovereignty, but merely as "originators" (*archontes*). "The Benthamite and Austinian notion of the sovereignty of a determinate person or body of persons in receipt of habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society" springs from the very modern movement away from tradition to which reference has been made, and is antithetical not only to the Greek way of thinking but to the characteristic English tradition of Burke and Locke.

"What is the nature of the legacy which the *Politics* bequeathed to the common thought of Europe?" asks Sir Ernest Barker, and then goes on to answer his question in a single word: "constitutionalism". Quoting Dr. Johnson's saying that "the first Whig was the Devil," and Lord Acton's emendation which put St. Thomas Aquinas in the Devil's place, Sir Ernest suggests that as a matter of history the first Whig was neither of them, but Aristotle. "Aristotle taught St. Thomas: through St. Thomas he taught Catholic Europe: through St. Thomas he also taught Richard Hooker, who drew from this origin the theory of law and government enunciated in the first book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. The 'judicious Hooker' (the term is Locke's own) was in turn one of the masters of Locke and one of the great sources of the two *Treatises on Civil Government*." The last great English exponent of the tradition, Burke, was not only indebted to Locke but also directly to Aristotle himself, with whose doctrines he became acquainted as a student at Trinity College, Dublin.

Locke has been called "the typical English thinker," and his *Civil Government* is "the philosophy of a privileged class, jealous of its rights and sensitive of its responsibilities".[1] He takes over Aristotle's theory of nature and of the social order as natural to free men, but "his natural man is a gentleman of rural England, with a considerable property and a respect for the property of others".[2] In extreme reaction against the *Leviathan* of Hobbes, which had sought to establish in England the continental idea of the sovereign State, his treatise abolishes sovereignty and puts in its place that principle of the division of power which was to have so strong an influence on the Constitution of the United States.

[1] R. H. Crossman in Mayer, *Political Thought: the European Tradition* (London: Dent, 1939, p. 183).
[2] *Ibid.*

What Locke did, in fact, was to apply with extraordinary skill and plausibility the traditional Aristotelian doctrine to the very peculiar English situation at the end of the seventeenth century. We may well agree with Hilaire Belloc and writers of his school that, in so doing, he was sanctioning a successful revolution in which the traditional balance of society had already been gravely distorted. His success is at any rate a high tribute to the vitality of the Aristotelian teaching as completed by St. Thomas; and the later fruits of his doctrine were well worthy of their origin. It is through first Locke and then Burke that the Greek political tradition was saved at the crises of the Renaissance and the Revolution, to supply the theoretical basis for as much liberty as is recognised in our own day.

Hegel said that Plato's *Republic* merely represents the theory implicit in the practical morality and political life of Greece. The saying is much truer of Aristotle's *Politics*,[1] which not only keeps closer to the realities of Greek life and is more representative than Plato's work of Greek ways of thought, but is actually based on its author's systematic collection and study of no less than a hundred and fifty-eight contemporary constitutional systems. With a kind of scientific objectivity unknown to Plato's more poetical temperament, his pupil analyses and classifies all known and all possible types of political organisation, constantly interspersing his analyses with practical criticism. There is thus a long distance between the *Politics* and the *Republic*, the work of Plato's early years in the Academy, or even the *Laws*, in which during the last ten years of his life he showed how experience had sobered his earlier exuberance. Nothing could better illustrate this than their respective attitudes towards democracy. In the *Republic*, democracy is one of the lowest forms of government, parent of tyranny which is the worst of all; and there is a splendidly sarcastic picture of democratic liberty, which extends not only to slaves but to the very animals, so that horses and asses jostle the passers-by in the streets. In the *Laws*, Plato has introduced the important criterion of the rule of law, which when operative can justify democracy; but in its customary form the latter is still viewed as a decadent type of government, a "theatrocracy," in which the mob is the arbiter of what is best.

Aristotle takes over Plato's criterion of the sovereignty of law, which he passed on to become a most important principle in the Christian theory of government. In his view the best type of constitution is a mixed type, characterised by proportional or distributive justice, whereby rich and poor make their distinctive contributions to the common good. Here we have another social principle which was destined to assume

[1] For this citation I am indebted to M. B. Foster, *Masters of Political Thought*, Vol. I, p. 123 (London: Harrap. 1942).

special importance in later ages. This mixed type is also characterised by its approximation to the standard which determines all excellence, private as well as public—the standard of the Mean. Combining rule by the richer and the poorer classes, it gives predominance to the middle class, which by its very nature is more stable than the other two. Theoretically, indeed, it is inferior to aristocracy in the proper sense of the word, where strict merit is the only test for office, but in practice it is "best for the majority of states and men". On the other hand, "Aristotle recognises that there is much to be said for government by the majority of the people. They have a faculty of collective judgment, which hits the mark, alike in questions of art and matters of politics; 'some appreciate one part, others another, and all together appreciate all'." In saying this he is clearly criticising Plato's sweeping condemnation of "theatrocracy"; but at the same time he recognises that the existence of such qualities in the majority does not justify the universal setting-up of governments based solely upon a single class.

Aristotle recognises also that as a matter of experience his favourite "Polity" is a rare type of government. A puzzling sentence[1] asserts that "one man and one only, of all who have hitherto been in a position of ascendancy, has allowed himself to be persuaded to agree to the setting up of such a type". The identity of this unique individual has never been established. Newman suggested Theramenes, who was influential in promoting moderate democracy in 411; but he was neither "in a position of ascendancy," nor can it be said that he "allowed himself to be persuaded" to set up a form of government of which he was the chief advocate. Sir Ernest Barker thinks of the Macedonian Antipater, who was Alexander's lieutenant-governor in Greece and who did set up a moderate democracy in Athens. But he did this in 321, the year after Aristotle's death; and in any case the reference in the *Politics* is clearly to something that had happened in the fairly distant past. The reference may well be to the Spartan Lysander, who (we are told elsewhere[2]) made peace with the Athenians in 404 on condition that they adopted "the constitution of their ancestors". At any rate the most improbable of all solutions of the difficulty is Dr. J. P. Mayer's suggestion[3] that Pericles is meant; for Pericles was the embodiment of that tendency towards extreme democracy which Aristotle consistently deprecates, though he does not condemn it so roundly as does Plato.

The fact is, of course, that Aristotle's "best type" of constitution goes back not to Pericles but precisely to the ideas of the moderate democrats who opposed him. The "ancestral constitution" sought by the moderate party in 411 and again in 404 was an ideal inherited from

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[1] *Politics*, IV, 1296, a.
[2] Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 34, 3.
[3] *Political Thought*, p. 40.

Thucydides son of Melesias and from Cimon. It was also probably the kind of government approved by Thucydides the historian, whose kinship with his earlier namesake may now be regarded as quite certain,[1] and who refers to the constitution of 411 in terms of measured praise. We may regard it as beyond question that the Periclean democracy, with its tendency to become a kind of " dictatorship of the proletariat," was eccentric to the tradition upon which Aristotle drew for the delineation of his standard Polity. Thus the strongest and most lasting strain in the European and Christian theory of government goes back through Locke, St. Thomas, and Aristotle to the moderates of fifth-century Athens, whom a temporarily triumphant extreme movement branded as " reactionaries," just as moderates and constitutionalists are now almost universally stigmatised.

Two great additions were made to Aristotelian theory on its way to become part of the Christian *philosophia perennis*. One was of Hellenistic origin, and it has even been suggested that it sprang from the mind of Aristotle's pupil, Alexander.[2] Whatever its source, it was incorporated in the teaching of the Stoics, whence it became part of the " mental climate " of the Roman imperial world. This was the idea that " men should not live their lives in so many civic republics . . . they should reckon all as their fellow-citizens and there should be one life and one order, as it were one flock in a common pasture." Inside this common pasture, regarded as co-extensive with the world (*cosmopolis*), all men should be equal under one law. This conception dominated the eighteen centuries between Aristotle and Alexander at one end and Luther and Machiavelli at the other. The second addition to Aristotelian theory came specifically from Christianity and was first fully formulated in St. Augustine's *City of God*. It was the idea that " man is a being living on two planes, the temporal and the eternal," and that the chief problem of politics is the relation between these two planes. Enriched and enlarged by these new elements, but unchanged in its fundamental ideas, the doctrine of the *Politics* was integrated into the system of St. Thomas and, as a result of this fusion, still survives as the sole coherent and logical alternative to the triumphant materialist dialectic of Marx.

Only by a conscious, deliberate, and systematic return, by every means of education and propaganda, to the Western tradition in its totality can civilisation yet be saved and the threat of barbarism, with its combination of slavery and lawlessness, be effectively warded off.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

[1] For an interesting recent discussion of their relation the reader is referred to an article by G. Mathieu, *Mélanges Radet*, 1940, p. 242.

[2] See article on " Aristotle and Alexander the Great " by the present writer in *Studies*, 1942, p. 228, and reference there to Dr. Tarn's lecture on " Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind."

THE IRISH IN THE AMERICAN MELTING-POT

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

YANKEE CITY is an old New England community which has been chosen as the subject of an original and important piece of anthropological research. The same techniques which were applied to the study of simpler peoples by a group of social anthropologists have been subjected to empirical testing in a concrete case in modern American society. The " Yankee City Series " will, when completed, include six volumes. The third volume, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* by W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole[1] is a detailed study of the social life of a number of ethnic groups. The term " ethnic " refers to any person, whether of foreign or American birth, who considers himself or is considered to be a member of a group with a foreign culture or who participates in the activities of such a group. The ethnic groups entered Yankee City in the following order :—

	Decade of Arrival	Population 1933
Irish	1840—1850	3,943
French-Canadians	1880—1890	1,466
Jews	1890—1900	397
Italians	1890—1900	284
Armenians	1900—1910	246
Greeks	1900—1910	412
Poles	1910—1920	677
Russians	1910—1920	141

The book tells how the members of the ethnic groups succeeded in pushing up the economic and social ladder. The society of Yankee City is stratified into six horizontal layers, divided by more or less strong barriers. The story of the persistence with which successive generations of immigrants and their descendants have surmounted these barriers and have gradually, with varying degrees of success, become absorbed in the native American culture is exceedingly interesting. The residential, occupational and class distribution of the ethnics illustrates their upward mobility. A study is also made of the family, school, church and associational organisation of the different groups. The Irish form the oldest as well as the largest group. They receive considerable attention in the book and will be considered, practically to the exclusion of every other group, in this short review.

Before getting down to their main task of studying the mobility and other features of the ethnic groups, the authors devote a chapter to " letting the Irish tell their own story ". Scenes are staged in what are

[1]Newhaven : Yale University Press, $4 ; London : Oxford University Press, 28s.

supposed to be typical Irish families at different social levels. It must be confessed that this effort is not very successful. The picture that emerges is one of snobbery and vulgarity which, one hopes, is exaggerated. The chapter is offensive in other respects and adds nothing to the book. The only reason for referring to it is to warn readers not to be deterred by it from continuing their reading. All the later chapters are excellent. The fact is that the authors, who are first-class anthropologists and statisticians, are not so good at imaginative literature.

For the purpose of studying the residential distribution of the ethnics the city is divided into six areas, graded from the lowest (River Street) to the highest (Hill Street) class. To determine the residential status of a group at any time a "status index" is constructed as follows. A consecutive number, from one to six, is assigned to each successively higher residential level. The group's population by household in any given area is multiplied by the number-value of the area. The sum of these products is divided by the total number of household units in the group. The quotient is an index number between one and six expressing the status of the group as a whole in terms of an average.

The distribution of the Irish in 1850 will serve as an illustration of how the status index is constructed :—

Area	Value	Number of Households	Product
I	1	48	48
II	2	41	82
III	$2\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
IV	3	13	39
V	4	2	8
VI	6	0	0
		104	177

The status index is $\frac{177}{104}$ or 1·7. The following table presents the status index of each ethnic group by decades since their numbers became significant :—

GROUP	1850	1864	1873	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933
Irish	1·70	1·95	2·11	2·11	2·12	2·22	2·37	2·57	2·85
French Canadian	—	—	—	—	1·67	1·78	1·77	2·13	2·43
Jewish	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·93	2·14	2·77
Italian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·21	2·38
Armenian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·39	2·57
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·40	2·54
Polish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·25	1·40
Russian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·32

It is interesting to note that four groups—the Jews, Italians, Armenians and Greeks—appear in their first recorded decade with a higher index than the group preceding, while three—the French-Canadians, Poles and Russians—appear with a lower. The three oldest groups improved their residential status at an accelerating rate. The most striking advance made by the Irish was in the last three decades, by the French-Canadians in the last two decades and by the Jews in the last decade. In 1933 the Irish and the Jews had reached a status slightly higher than that of the native population (2·75) and had become so widely distributed that they were no longer identified with a certain area. Their earlier residential coherence had disappeared. The upward movement of every group reflects upward economic mobility and is a condition of upward social-class mobility. The resistance frequently encountered on the part of the inhabitants of the higher levels provides a further illustration of the terrible strength of American snobbery. But the forces of what the authors call " hierarchical attraction " have triumphed over every obstacle, and " the push of the ethnics towards Hill Street, through their entire ninety years in the city, has never ceased ".

The great majority of the ethnics, with the exception of the Jews, had a rural background. Apart from the Jews, the ethnics had their source in a simple economic system which was predominantly agricultural, organized round a self-sufficient family unit and marked only by slight specialization of occupations and relatively little circulation of money. There was necessarily a great deal of adaptability in the case of the first immigrants to fit in with the highly specialized urban pattern of employment in Yankee City. Occupations are divided into six classes in the following ascending order : I. Manual technique ; IA. Unskilled labour ; IB. Skilled factory operations ; IC. Skilled craft operations ; II. Exchange control techniques (the " white collar " occupations) ; IIA. Management-aid operations ; IIB. Management operations ; III. Professional techniques. An occupational status index is computed, first, by assigning each occupational class a differential numerical value measured in relation to the lowest class. The weights allocated are as follows : IA. 1, IB. 2, IC. $2\frac{1}{2}$, IIA. 3, IIB. 4, III. 6. The absolute number of a group in each of the classes is multiplied by the assigned value of the class, and the sum of these products is then divided by the total employed population of the group. This quotient is the number between one and six representing the relative position of each group. The occupational status indices of eight ethnic groups by decades are as on following page (346).

There were three phases in the occupational development of the Irish : (1) 1850-1864, mobility moderate ; (2) 1864-1903, mobility slight ; (3) 1903-1933, mobility rapid. In the present century the mobility of the Irish has been exceptionally great. In 1933, with an index of 2·52, they reached a group occupational status almost identical with the city's

GROUP	1850	1864	1873	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933
Irish	1·62	1·76	1·74	1·76	1·84	1·94	2·14	2·31	2·52
FrenchCanadians	—	—	—	—	1·95	2·10	2·14	2·23	2·24
Jews	—	—	—	—	—	—	3·10	3·22	3·32
Italians	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·32	2·29	2·28
Armenians	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·46	2·51	2·56
Greeks	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·53	2·34
Poles	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·88	1·97
Russians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1·95
Total ethnics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·42
Total natives	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2·56

indigenous population whose index was 2·55. Two important developments in the economic system helped the ethnics to improve their occupational status. After 1830 industrialization drew middle class natives into the factories, lower class natives into the occupations abandoned by the middle class natives, and Irish into the unskilled labour occupations abandoned by the lower class natives. Towards the end of the century emigration of natives from the factories and from the city itself opened the factories to increasing numbers of ethnics. The natives were replaced rather than displaced by the ethnics.

Neither the residential nor the occupational classification coincides with the social class occupation, which is based on some fine distinctions of American snobbery. With the exception of the Jews and the French-Canadians the social background of the ethnics was a peasant one. On their arrival in America the immigrants belonged to no social class and were regarded as foreigners. Even in religion they had no sympathy with solid American Protestantism. Side by side with the upward residential and occupational mobility an upward class movement began, but it was tardy and tended to lag behind. Within twenty years a substantial proportion of the immigrants reached the upper layer of the lower class; within thirty years the more successful reached the lower middle class; and after forty years a few penetrated the upper middle class. The later generations of ethnics encounter less resistance and mount the social ladder more easily than the earlier. The Irish are the only ethnics who have reached the lower ranks of the upper class. The French-Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians and Greeks have risen to the upper middle class, and the few Poles and Russians have reached the lower middle class. A class index number based mainly on residential distribution gives the following result for the year 1933: Poles 1·1, Russians 1·35, Greeks 1·55, French-Canadians and Italians 1·7, Armenians 1·9, Irish 2·3 and Jews 2·4. The index for the native population was 2·5, so that the Irish and the Jews had risen very high, the Irish because they were the oldest group and the Jews because, with their urban-commercial

background, they were exceptionally adaptable. One result of the progress of the Irish is that they have become so scattered among different classes that a split along class lines has developed.

> Internally, the Irish group is now differentiated according to position in the city's class system. The growing identification with class level and the usual manifestations of extreme class distance have served to break up the Irish group's inner cohesion. The result is seen in the sharp antagonisms which exist between the Irish of the two lowest classes (lower-lower and upper-lower) and of the two higher classes (upper-middle and lower-upper). The former refer to the latter as "lace-curtain Irish," a term with reproachful connotations, and associate them with the Hill Street "codfish aristocracy". The higher-class Irish, when aroused, will apply to the Irish of the lower classes the familiar epithet, "shanty Irish". The lower-middle-class Irish seem to keep to the fence in this conflict between the two class factions in the group.

In none of the other ethnic groups have sufficient numbers progressed into the upper middle class to create the sharp class division that has appeared in the Irish group.

The family relationships of the ethnic groups are fundamentally changed by residence in America. The family background is mostly of the patriarchal type with almost complete subordination of wife and children. Gradually the predominance of the head of the household declines under the influence of American individualism, and the traditional behaviour of the family tends to disappear. The growth of independence by wives of their husband's control is slower among the Irish and the French Canadians than in other groups. This is the result of the Catholic teaching on the family.

> The Catholic Church in one aspect is exclusively a cult of the family, just as Judaism may be said to be a cult of the Jewish society. The Church is a super-family of families, with each family "a cell in the organism of the Whole Christ". Its symbolism is filled with familial elements, and its ritual has as its core the seven Sacraments four of which are rites of passage whose foci are the family. Two others, communion and penance, unite the individual with the symbol of Christ. The seventh is the rite of passage into the priesthood. By ritualization of family crises and by directly "embracing" the individual, the Church provides the family with a matrix which shapes the family structure and keeps it inviolate.

But the Church does not push its authority beyond the limits of acceptance. The equality of husband and wife is now conceded, but it is equality in a strictly defined sense, based upon two propositions: (1) the family is a partnership with both partners subordinated to the family enterprise; (2) the wife is subordinate to the husband in her capacity of wife but not in her capacity of woman. "The Church accorded minimal equality to the wife . . . . The Church makes concessions which mitigate the forces making for change, yet which neither alter the family structure in any fundamental aspect nor compromise its own position." The relationship between parents and children gives rise to many conflicts in most of the ethnic groups. These conflicts are less among the Irish and

French-Canadians than in other groups—again because of the influence of the Church.

As in the case of the husband-wife relation, the Catholic Church is a powerful buttress to the family structure. Through the subordination of the child to the Church, his subordination to the parent is kept almost inviolate. Not only has the child an important place in the Church, denied to children of other churches, but through the parochial school the child is progressively indoctrinated with attitudes of reverence for and obedience to authority, whether it be of the priest, the parent, or the civil officers. Further, in the Church associations the child's play is regulated by the Church authorities, in the persons of the curates and the nuns, and is organized around the sacred symbols of the Church. Hence the expansion of the child's personality is kept within the framework of the authoritative Church. Also, the child's absorption of the American logics is accompanied by a parallel absorption of what we might call the Catholic logics, keeping the breach between the generations far narrower than in the groups already considered. Further, the Church, being sensitive to the particular social system in which it is embedded, absorbs the shocks of transition by sanctioning those changes which might lead to conflict between parent and child.

The religious history of the immigrants was rooted in the fact that religion and nationalism had been, in most cases, associated in their countries of origin. The Greeks, Armenians, Irish, French-Canadians and Poles were all struggling nationalities whose church was different from that of their conquerors. In view of this it is easy to understand that the immigrants should have been intensely attached to their churches. Many of the groups established, in Yankee City, churches following the pattern of the churches in their native land. The most complete identification between nation and church is in the case of the Jews, who, since their dispersion, have continued to exist as a nation only because of their closely knit religious solidarity. The Jewish religious group has, however, tended to disintegrate under the pressure of American institutions. The younger Jews refuse to sacrifice the Sabbath, and business continues as usual on Saturday. Attendance at the synagogue tends to fall off. The upward mobility of the Jews is exceptionally quick; and, as they move up the class ladder, they incline to copy American habits. Judaism is in its essence a religion which is not adapted to survive in the American atmosphere. It has failed to adapt itself to the American way of life and is disintegrating. In this respect it contrasts strikingly with the Catholic Church, which has shown great vitality and power of adaptation.

The Catholic ethnic group comprises the Irish, French-Canadians, Italians and Poles, but from the beginning the Irish have formed the leaders among the Catholics. The contrast between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics is striking. In the Orthodox Church, to which the Greeks and Russians belong, the clergy are subject to considerable control by the laity, whereas in the Roman Church the priest, because of his independent position, became " the director of all secular aspects of his Church structure, which has been proliferated to embrace almost the

ntire Irish community system." The functions of the priests of the rish Catholic community include: first, the administration of the acraments and the conduct of all Church services; second, supervision f family life through the confessional and by visiting; third, administration f the finances of the parish; fourth, supervision of the moral training f the children in the parochial and Sunday schools; fifth, supervision f the leisure of the parishioners in the Church associations. The priest as very great influence on the life of the community—far greater than hat of the priests in any other group. It is the Church that perpetuates he ethnic identity of the Irish. This is shown by the fact that Irish Protestant immigrants become rapidly assimilated in the native population nd never form anything resembling an ethnic group. But the Church, nlike the Jews, has shown itself ready to adapt itself, when no sacrifice f principle is involved, to the American way of life. " The Irish Church as stifled its national orientation, until today it may be said to be an American Catholic Church rather than Irish Catholic."

If it had not been for the influence of the Church, the Irish Catholics would probably have been absorbed in the American social system as apidly as the Irish Protestants. They both share one feature which harply distinguishes them from every other class of immigrant in that hey do not have to learn a new language. In the case of the Greeks, Poles and other immigrants from the Continent of Europe the language arrier has been a very powerful factor in maintaining ethnic identity. The younger generation gradually become English-speaking and one arrier on mobility is removed. Amongst the Irish, even bilingual mmigrants make no attempt to speak Irish in Yankee City and no trace f the language can be found. Even Irish history is no longer taught n the parochial schools which the majority of Irish Catholics attend. These schools, which are confined to the Irish and French-Canadian groups, are organized to give children a good religious and moral education nd to defend them against certain dangers of the American social tmosphere—for example materialism and scepticism. It is typical of he forward-looking character of American Catholicism that these schools do nothing to foster the ethnic tie except in so far as it is a religious one. The neglect of the Irish language and of Irish history is symbolical of this outlook.

The great influence of the Church in maintaining the ethnic identity f the Irish is also shown by the history of voluntary associations in Yankee City. Most of the immigrants spoke no English on arrival in America. They felt very alien and isolated and formed closed cultural and recreational associations the membership of which was confined to their own group. Such associations were, to some extent, reflections of the village communities from which the Poles, Russians, Greeks and Armenians came. There is no evidence that such informal associations ever existed among

the Irish or the French-Canadians. In modern times formal associations have been established in the ethnic groups for charitable and recreational purposes. All the Irish associations are directly or indirectly connected with the Church. They include sodalities, insurance societies and charitable organizations. Some of these associations are confined to a single social class. This class differentiation, which is not to be found in any other group, corroborates the conclusion reached earlier, that the Irish ethnic group has developed an internal social stratification.

All the evidence indicates that, if it had not been for the influence of the Church, the Irish immigrants and their descendants would have been completely absorbed in the American social system. Protestants from Great Britain and Northern Ireland and English-speaking Canadians are rapidly assimilated without the intervening stage of forming an ethnic group. Protestant Germans, Dutch and Scandinavians are almost as rapidly assimilated, proving that religious differences form a greater barrier to absorption than linguistic differences. The great strength of the Church in organizing and maintaining separate ethnic groups is illustrated in the case of the French, German, Belgian and Dutch and, above all, the Irish Catholics.

The French, German, Belgian and Dutch Protestants, it seems likely, assimilate very rapidly, develop less powerful subsystems, and are less subordinated than those of the same nationality and language who are Catholic. The Catholic Irish assimilate more slowly than the Protestant Irish despite the fact that in all other respects the two cannot be distinguished by most Americans. Whereas the Catholic Irish develop moderately strong subsystems and take many generations to assimilate, the Protestant Irish form very weak ones and almost immediately become assimilated.

There is only one force stronger than the Church in retarding the assimilation of the American immigrant. That is race prejudice. Apart from the Jews, all the ethnic groups included in the inquiry belong to the same race as the dominant American native population. Any racial difference retards assimilation and may prevent it for all time. The authors of this fascinating piece of anthropologial research applied to a modern city community state that the underlying problem of their study is " an examination of the validity of America's conception of itself as the ' great melting-pot '." The answer given to the problem is that " the American social system is not strictly speaking a ' melting-pot ' which fuses its diverse ethnic elements into a new amalgam, as was once popularly believed, but is rather a system which performs the transmutation of diverse ethnic elements into elements almost homogeneous with its own." Up to the present racial differences have resisted this transmuting pressure. Whether they will continue to resist it will depend largely on the issue of the dark-skinned races' struggle with the dominant whites for social equality which is rapidly being organized on an international scale.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

ST. FRANCES XAVIER CABRINI

Canonised July 7 1946

BY DONAL O'SULLIVAN, S.J.

GOD, someone has said, gives a country the saints it deserves. Whatever the truth of that, it would seem that in St. Frances Xavier Cabrini he has given America—the United States that is—the saint it needs. She is the first citizen of the United States to be canonised. As it has done for millions of her fellow citizens, America gave Frances Cabrini a second home and a last resting place. Her cradle was elsewhere. She was an immigrant and is known as the Saint of the Immigrants. It is some 60 years since at a turning-point in United States history she stood, a steerage immigrant, on the deck of the *Bourgogne* and peered through a thick fog for her first sight of the Statue of Liberty then but newly erected. To-day at another turning-point in the history of the United States and of the world, when men's eyes seek a landmark from their sea of gloom, she herself is lifted up on high, a symbol of hope and of the liberty, ever ancient ever new, of the children of God. Her life is a beacon fed with the fire of the love of God and of the love, for His sake, of man—poor and fallen and in agony until the end of time. To the world's councils she recalls that the brotherhood of man is as sounding brass without the fatherhood of God. To her own fellow citizens she recalls their ties of origin with a Europe that was Christian, with a Europe that was the Faith. Byrnes must never become Bryneski writ small; there are no Cabrinis in the Kremlin. To a nation that bows (as indeed we all do) before the streamlined gods of success, she preaches by the convincing voice of example that nothing succeeds like failure. She succeeded hugely because she had first failed dismally. The buildings she erected still scrape the American skies as do those of big business. But they were founded not on the changing values of Wall Street's dollar but on the changeless value of confidence in God. " Mother Cabrini and five cents is worth nothing " she might well have said with Saint Teresa—in fact she often did say something of the kind—" Mother Cabrini and five cents and God can do anything." Chicago and New York, no mean cities, boast to-day that she, their citizen, did " all things " amongst them. But all her life long, even while she laboured for them, she sought—as they and we must seek—for a city that is to come. Of that City Frances Xavier Cabrini was declared on July 7th last an honoured citizen. God's geography is more pliable than Kipling's, and Chinese East and American West have met with glory in the Spanish name of Xavier.

Not that the thirteenth child of Agostino and Stella Cabrini left the

church of her baptism in Sant' Angelo near Lodi with the name of Xavier. It was years afterwards that she adopted it when the world became too small for her desires. Xavier would have sounded too adventurous to the solid farmer stock of the Cabrinis rooted for generations in the pasture land of the Lombardy plain. Years before, some of her forbears had set out for Rome to claim a legacy. But when the campanile of the village church and the red brick towers of the old castle had sunk into the horizon of the plain, they grew afraid, looked silently at one another and turned for home. But the spirit of Xavier was gradually formed in the mind and heart of the small girl who listened wide-eyed, in the winter evenings, to the tales of Missionary Lands read by her father from the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. Little Francesca filled paper boats with flowers—they were her missionaries—and set them adrift on the rapid current of the Venera. As a grown woman, the Foundress and first General of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, she was to send missionaries sailing on the seven seas and to rival by her own travels the journeyings of her patron Xavier. But God was to lead her by ways uncouth and wild before that day would dawn. Xaviers are not ready-made. And whether the Xaviers wit it or not, the hands that mould them are always the Hands of God. Frances Xavier Cabrini met her first Loyola in the person of her sister Rose. On this elder sister fell the burden of her upbringing ; and if the moulding was severe, it was guided by God and tempered by love. Long afterwards Mother Cabrini used to say jokingly that her hair would never turn white, so often had its curly locks been oiled by Rose and plastered down upon her head as an antidote to childish vanity. With a humour beyond her years she cheerfully underwent this Spartan training and at eighteen, shy but self-controlled, she was well on the road to sanctity, marked already by that exquisite serenity and charm which in later life were to impress and win all who met her, from convicts to Cardinals. To look even at her photograph is to long to have known her.

A temporary appointment as a teacher in a neighbouring parish (she had passed her Certificate Examination with distinction, after some years in a convent at Arluno) brought her second, and certainly all unwitting, Loyola into her life. Don Antonio Serrati the Parish Priest would have made his fortune in this managerial age. A good man and zealous, he planned other people's lives like some high civil servant. Behind the scenes and behind convent parlour doors, he cheerfully thwarted Francesca's two efforts to become a nun. God can make all things work together unto good—even the plans of Monsignor Serrati, provost of Codogno. The provost's plan for young Francesca was that she should reform a convent-cum-orphanage which was governed by a mad nun, and those plans failed after six years of weary and unseemly strife. God's plan was that she should be trained to found a Missionary Institute and

ıould become a saint. He could wait. The voice was indeed the voice
Monsignor Serrati, but the hands were the Hands of God. Francesca
ent to the orphanage for two weeks; won over by the plight of the
phans, as the planning provost reckoned she would, she remained six
ears. At the end of that time, after experiences equalled only by Saint
eresa of Avila and Saint John of the Cross in their efforts at reform,
ıe had all unknowingly gathered about her the nucleus of her own
ɔngregation; and tried as by fire, she had learned what devotion to the
acred Heart really meant. Antonia Tondini the fractious nun went
om mad to worse. She was finally excommunicated, the orphanage
as dissolved, and Mother Cabrini and the seven sisters she had trained
ere without a home. The Bishop of Lodi sent for her: "I know that
ɔu want to become a Missionary. I know of no Missionary Order of
omen. Why not found one yourself?" This time the voice *and* the
ands were both of God. Francesca Cabrini's hour had struck.

A disused Franciscan Monastery gave her shelter. No battalion of
ooks waited at her elbow to aid her in drawing up her rule; the Bible,
ıe Imitation, Saint Alphonsus Liguori's works, Rodriguez, Pinamonte
ıd the Exercises of Saint Ignatius—these were all her library. Nor was
ıore necessary. Antonia Tondini had shown her what not to do; her
wn common sense and the unction of the Holy Spirit did the rest. The
Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart came into being. But what did
missionary" mean? The Francesca who had launched paper boats
n the Venera had not the slightest doubt. "Don't think my Institute
an be confined to one city or one diocese" she often told the kindly but
ıutious Bishop. "The whole world is not wide enough for me." Big
ords from a little nun of thirty, so frail and ill that it was thought better
ıat the convent property should not be held in her name. For a few
ears still she had to bide her time. She spent it in long hours of prayer
–its secrets, unfortunately for us, jealously guarded; in the formation
f her solid Lombardian subjects—she had the art of drawing the very
est out of people; in the steady climbing of the last summits of self-
ıastery—from now on her flashes of wit alone revealed the volcanic
ivacity hidden beneath that smiling exterior of attractive charm. And
ıen one November day in 1882 there rolled out of Codogno en route
ɔr the little town of Grumello a wagonette and a farm cart. It was
Mother Cabrini's first missionary journey, and ever since the rumblings
f those Lombardy cart wheels have been echoing on the roadways of
ıe world. Very soon they echoed in the piazzas of Rome. Monsignor
errati and the Archbishop of Milan warned her that it was imprudent
ɔ bring herself so soon to the notice of the Holy See. They were but
vo of the thousands who, with well-meaning but monotonous persistence,
ould ring the tocsin of imprudence over the cradle of each and all of her
ew-born ideas. Strengthened by the advice of a Jesuit friend and of

the Canon of Crema, she shut her ears to all alarms and on a September day in 1887 she knelt in the Gesù at Rome before the altar of a greater Jesuit friend—Saint Francis Xavier—and commended her cause to his keeping.

And Francis worked a miracle. Or was it Francesca? Or both? Cardinals whose names were a bye-word for caution found themselves towed dizzily after that Lombardy cart at a rate far beyond the recognised diplomatic speed-limit. At the third interview with this unknown nun from the provinces, who had come to the Curia without a letter of introduction, the Cardinal-Vicar was even playful. "Well, Mother Cabrini, are you ready to obey?" "Of course, your Eminence." "In that case, I shall not allow you to establish a house in Rome". He paused; she waited. "Instead, I order you to found *two* houses." She had conquered Rome. Next day and for many a weary day afterwards she haunted the auction-rooms of the city from early morning until night, picking up a bed here, a table there. She despised money; but, when hard pressed, she could challenge the children of the world at their own beloved game and show them how the game was really played.

"Not East but West" was Pope Leo XIII's command to her when they had met and almost instantaneously become fast friends. That command was to mean that, like her patron Xavier, she would never evangelise the land of her heart's desire, the land for which as a little girl she had striven to forego the taste of sweets "because there were no sweets in China". Her China was to be mainly the fetid slums of the great American cities; her Sancian was to be Chicago. The great heart of the Leo, who had written in *Rerum Novarum* of "a yoke little better than that of slavery itself," could not but yearn towards the millions of his own fellow country-men in America on whom that yoke lay so heavily. Their quest for *Lebensraum* was not the product of a mad lust for power; it was the necessary consequence of the will to live. They had to leave Italy or die. They left it and lived; but that life was a life lived almost on the level of the rats that shared with them their tenements. Despised, exploited, lonely, shunned, knowing scarcely a word of English, these "white niggers" of the United States, herded together in their foul slums, felt themselves forgotten of man and of God. Cold comfort to them now the liberal ideas of Mazzini and Cavour which many of them had brought for all luggage from a "liberated" Italy. For a few desperate years they prolonged life—"duris addicti laboribus, spirituali auxilio plene destituti," as the Acta of Beatification bluntly put it—and then, cursing God, died. Into that living hell of the Little Italies came Mother Cabrini and her smiling nuns, confident that they could do all things in Him who strengthened them and in the power of His Vicar's command. Their story is an epic of heroic devotedness, a scandal to the "wise and prudent" who flourished in Chicago and New York in the nineties as

hey had flourished in the Judea of Jesus Christ. Economic plans, cooked vith prudence and served with circumspection, will never feed a hungry vorld. For bodies die—and souls too—while economists count the cost ; here is still room for the charity of Christ and the prudent imprudence f His saints. The Cabrinis and the Boscos will never be out of work ; ior the alabaster vase of Magdalen out of date.

" Courage, Cabrini. Let us work." It required the courage counselled y the Pope to land in America with little English and less money, to ombat the apathy of high-placed ecclesiastics and the regionalism and nti-clericalism of the Italians, to enter into dives and tenements where io policemen would venture, to face sabotage and terrorism, and to smile nd be gay through it all. Where the money came from, without which ven that gallant courage would have failed, remains somewhat of a nystery. That the Saint and her sisters were foot-sore as they begged rom door to door for the dimes and the cents of the poor is certain ; certain oo that the purses of the rich opened generously and often under the pell of Francesca's unfailing charm. But given all that, it seems almost qually certain that some of her funds were, as in the case of other saints, iterally heaven-sent. Anyhow it is a matter of marvellous fact that Mother Cabrini began the building of the Columbus Hospital in New York with two hundred and fifty dollars and that her sole capital in pening the Newark School for Italian poor children was sixty cents ! No work to her was ever impossible. It is she herself who seems impossible.

Almost overnight faith and hope and love and joy began to bloom gain in the souls and lives of the wretched *contadini*. Success drew ttention to the work and very soon even official anti-clerical Italy hamefacedly gave its blessing—and a little money—to the venture. New York and Chicago became too small ; Mother Cabrini was seen to be oring over her maps again. New Orleans, where things were so bad or the poor Italians that a number of them had been lynched, called for elp. Thither went three sisters by slow stages, for they had to beg their vay. The scattered cotton plantations of Louisiana and Mississippi soon new the sisters, as did the depths of the Denver mines and the cells of he various great prisons. Neither the Saint nor her sisters had a particle f the frightening anti-christian mentality that " anyway prisoners are nly getting what they deserve ". The all-round application of that dictum vould bring about some curious upheavals in society. So into the cells nd even into the dreaded death-house they went, bringing with them he peace and comfort of Christ. Little wonder that among the treasured locuments of the Congregation is an illuminated address from the grateful nhabitants of Sing Sing.

Yet while care for the poor remained the dominant note of Mother Cabrini's Institute, she was too experienced a woman not to know that he up-and-out can be as much in need of help as the down-and-out.

She would shut her great heart to no one nor to any country. The year 1891 saw her in Nicaragua founding a select Academy for girls (it was later to be forcibly closed after one of that country's frequent revolutions). Then the frail conquistador sailed for Chili, summed up its possibilities (making some delightful remarks on Spanish-American modes of piety and taste in statues), crossed the Andes in late November on a mule and founded select schools in Spanish-speaking Argentina and Portuguese-speaking Brazil. Madrid, Paris, London followed logically. After all she needed many-tongued teachers for her many-tongued schools. And with her to see a need was to accomplish it, even if it meant quietly putting a Queen in her place—as she did in Spain. In all, she crossed the Atlantic twenty-four times ; for Codogno had to be kept in touch with, and Rome, and above all her intimate friend and inspirer Leo. There are, we are told, no regrets in heaven. Otherwise, one might well imagine the Saint in this year of her canonisation looking down with envy on Gander and Rineanna—and longing for a monthly return ticket on the fastest Constellation !

A careless perusal of her boundless activities (though it would need indeed to be very careless) might give the impression that Francesca Cabrini loved activity for activity's sake. Nothing could be less true. Calmness and strainless restraint were characteristic of her—qualities she also loved to see in devotional art. She never fussed, never lost her sense of humour ; her soul was always in her hands or, more exactly, in the hands of God. That God favoured her with choice mystical gifts there can be no reasonable doubt. Her latest biographer Theodore Maynard says well of her : " Her face in prayer was like an alabaster lamp in which a light had been lit." But even that light she strove carefully to conceal, and those who would lift the veil were gently but firmly snubbed. Her death in Chigago was of one pattern with her life. Friday December 21, 1917, the last of her many active days, was spent in the ordinary exercises of the community and in wrapping up Christmas sweets—bought at her expense—for the children of the Italian School in Erie Street. On the next morning, without Viaticum and without receiving Extreme Unction while conscious, she died almost suddenly. Not only was her death in keeping with her life ; it was also in keeping with the lonely death of her faithfully imitated patron Francis Xavier.

Miracles through her intercession soon abounded, and the Church made no delay in giving to the world a saint so suited to our times. Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini of Sant' Angelo and New York, one of the truly great women of our age, was beatified on 13 November 1938 by Pope Pius XI, who had known her personally, and was canonised on July 7th of this year by Pope Pius XII. May the Old World that gave her birth and the New World that gave her welcome be blessed mightily to-day in the power that she wields with God.

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XVIII

REDMOND, SIR PETER, merchant. Son of Michael Redmond of Shelborne, Co. Wexford, and Catherine Sherlock of Grace Dieu, Waterford. Father of Chevalier General John Redmond (*See* REDMOND, JOHN). In 1691 he settled at Lisbon where he was created a Knight of the Order of Christ, and in 1717 he was made a baronet by James III who, on 1 January 1718, appointed him consul-general for Portugal. He took an active part in the various Jacobite plots in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Finding that Paris was a more advantageous centre for schemes for a Stuart restoration, he left Lisbon and settled in 1721 in the French capital with his wife, daughters and his son John. There he became an intimate friend of the leading Jacobites, especially with the exiled Bishop Atterbury, Daniel O'Brien (Lord Lismore) and General Rothe. His house became a meeting place for the Irish exiles, who toasted there the health of their throneless king. A man of sterling worth, he commanded much influence at the court of Saint Germain-en-Laye. One finds, for example, that in 1732 at his request " Dr. Farrelly was appointed to be one of His Majesty's Physicians Extraordinary ". In the same year the English consul at Leghorn reported that he made a present of £2,000 of his own money to the Pretender. He died in 1737. There is a considerable number of his letters in the Stuart MSS.

REILLY, HUGH. *See* O'REILLY.

RICE, JAMES LOUIS (COUNT), soldier. Born *circa* 1730, he was son of Thomas Rice of Ballymacdoyle, Co. Kerry (Count of the Holy Roman Empire) and Alicia Meade of Kilmallock, Co. Kerry. Many members of the family of his name, being dispossessed of much of their property at home for their adherence to the Stuart and Catholic cause, emigrated to the continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In France many of them became eminent in various callings—*e.g.*, James Rice (uncle of the subject of this notice) settled at Nantes where he became an opulent banker.

Count James Louis Rice left Ireland in his youth, and after his education at the Irish Pastoral College at Louvain he entered the army of Austria. In that country he became an intimate friend of the Emperor Joseph II, whose sister Marie Antoinette was queen of France. Rice was a noted

duellist of the day and, while on a holiday at Bath in 1778, he killed Viscount Adolphe du Barry, a relative of the notorious courtesan. Tried before a jury he was immediately acquitted. In his evidence at the trial he stated that his acquaintance with du Barry began at Paris in 1774 when the latter, knowing his influence at the Austrian court, was soliciting some favour at Vienna. During the imprisonment of Marie Antoinette he formed a plan for her rescue—he had arranged relays of post-horses all the way from Paris to the coast, where he had a boat waiting to convey her to his house at Dingle, Co. Kerry. The plan fell through because of her unwillingness at the last moment to join in the project. Rice was created a count of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Joseph II and, after his father's death in 1777, was chief representative of the family whose present head is Lord Monteagle. Count Rice's sister Mary, residing at Nantes, married Count John Waters (*See* WATERS, GEORGE) the Irish banker at Paris ; and his uncle the abbé John Rice, dean of the English seminary in the French capital, was imprisoned in the Carmes prison during the Reign of Terror in 1793.

ROCHE, JAMES, wine merchant and author. Born at Limerick on 30 December 1770, he was son of Stephen Roche of that city and Sarah O'Brien of Moyvanine, Co. Limerick. In his fifteenth year he went to the college of Saintes in Angouléme. After the completion of his education he became a partner with his brother George, a wine merchant at Bordeaux. There during the early years of the Revolution he made the acquaintance of Vergniaud and other Girondist leaders, as well as of Dr. Guillotin, inventor of the death instrument that was to play such a part in the years that followed. He shared in the early enthusiasm for the Revolution and, during his visits to Paris, associated with some of its prominent figures. In 1793 he was imprisoned in the Luxembourg under the decree ordering the detention of British subjects in France. After six months, however, he was released through the influence of Brune, future marshal of Napoleon. On his release he returned to Bordeaux with the object of recovering his confiscated property. Leaving France in 1797 he settled in Cork and established there a bank, which failed in the financial crisis of 1819. His extensive library was sold in London to help to pay the bank's creditors. Later he returned to France, residing at Paris from 1829 till 1832. The remainder of his life was spent in Cork, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits. He published in 1851 " Essays of an Octogenarian " and was a contributor to various journals. He died at Cork on 1 August 1853 in his eighty-third year.

During the eighteenth century there were several members of the Roche family who were distinguished officers of the Irish Brigade in France. One of the most notable was Edward Roche, born at Waterford on 28 December 1738, who became a cadet in Rothe's regiment in 1758

ıd by 1771 had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel in Walsh's corps. man of literary tastes, he was elected a member of the " Académie des elles lettres " and retired from active service on pension in 1789.

RODEN, PATRICK, English agent. In September 1793, while France ıd England were at war, Roden and another Irishman, Thomas Delaney, ere arrested as English spies near the French camp at Nieuport in north-ıstern France. The commanding officer sent them to Dunkirk, where ıey were brought before a military commission. On interrogation Roden, ho described himself as a weaver and army deserter, said that he came om Ireland to Ostend and from Ostend to Nieuport ; he naively asserted ıat he did not know in what country he was when he arrived and that e was not aware that France and England were at war. The military ommission ordered his transference to Paris, where he was arraigned efore the Revolutionary Tribunal. Fouquier Tinville, the public rosecutor, charged him with coming to France for the purpose of spying nd declared him " a tool of the infamous Pitt ". Found guilty of conspiring gainst the Republic he was guillotined on 6 June 1794.

RONAN, SAINT. Born in Ireland *circa* 500, he was one of the band of eregrini who passed across to Brittany, where his memory is still venerated t Locronan to the north-west of Quimper. Here every seventh year ıkes place the celebrated Grand Pardon or Grand-Tromenie in honour f Saint Ronan, whose relics are preserved in the parish church. It ttracts thousands of pilgrims, who make the circuit of the forest where ıe Irish missionary had his settlement. There are many local traditions egarding him among the Bretons. It is told that he was an earth-spirit ıore than a saint and that he had power over the elements. There is a atin life of him in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

ROTHE, BERNARD, ecclesiastic. Born at Kilkenny on 11 February 693, he was the son of William Rothe (captain in the French army who as killed in the gallant defence of Arras in Flanders in August 1710) by Margaret O'Doherty. He was educated in France where, at the Irish College of Poitiers, he entered the Jesuit Order in 1716. At Poitiers he as a professor for many years and while there wrote several works which evealed much erudition and a fine critical judgment. In 1739 he was ummoned to Paris by his ecclesiastical superiors, and from that year till 743 he was on the editorial staff of the " Journal de Trevoux ". He cquired a high repute for his historical writings and verse criticisms, hile Voltaire denounced him in " Candide ". He spiritually attended Montesquieu in the latter's last years—the letter which Father Rothe rote to the Papal Nuncio in Paris regarding Montesquieu's death is in ıe " Memoirs of Charles O'Conor " (Dublin 1796). The charge that

the Irish priest tried, after the death of Montesquieu, to obtain possession of his manuscripts is without foundation. Suard, who was present on the occasion, directly contradicted it. After the suppression of the Jesuit Order in France in 1764, Father Rothe retired to the Netherlands and took up his residence at Mons. There he became confessor of the Princess Charlotte de Lorraine. He died at Mons on 18 January 1768.

Father Rothe was a prolific writer. Among his chief works are: "Ode à la Reine"—a collection of poems published by the College of Louis le Grand on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XV in 1725; "Lettres critiques sur 'les Voyages de Cyrus' of Andrew Ramsay" (Paris 1728); "Suite de la Nouvelle Cyropédie, ou Réflexions de Cyrus sur ses Voyages" (Amsterdam 1728); "Lettres critiques sur le Paradis Perdu de Milton" (Paris 1731); "Relation fidèle des troubles arrivés dans l'Empire de Pluton . . ." (Amsterdam 1731).

Rothe, Charles Edward (Count), soldier. Relative of preceding. Son of General Count Michael Rothe, a distinguished officer of the Irish Brigade in France. (*See* following). In his boyhood he was commissioned as an officer in the family regiment (Rothe's) and, on the retirement of his father from active service in 1733, he succeeded him as colonel. He fought through the War of the Austrian Succession, being engaged at the battle of Dettingen in 1743 and at the sieges of Menin, Ypres and Furnes in the following year. With the other corps of the Irish Brigade he contributed to the victory at Fontenoy in 1745. Later in the same year, while on the way to assist Prince Charles Edward in Scotland, he was captured at sea by the English. Released as a prisoner of war, he distinguished himself at Lauffelt in 1747, where the Irish regiments suffered heavy loss. After the siege of Maestricht in 1748 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and as such he fought in various engagements of the Seven Years War. His fame as a soldier during that conflict reached Ireland—the Jacobite poet Liam Dall O Hiffearnain has laudatory lines regarding him in a poem written at the time:

> Tá an Rúta sa láidir ma's fíor gach a ráidhtear
> An crobhaire ceann-árd 's a bhuinne gan bhrón.

General Rothe died on 19 August 1766.

Rothe, Michael (Count), soldier. Father of preceding. Belonging to the old mercantile family of Kilkenny, he was born in that city on 29 September 1665 and was son of Edward Rothe. He took part in the Jacobite War in Ireland and, after the Treaty of Limerick, passed over to France in 1691. His regiment (King James's Irish Foot Guards) having been incorporated in the French army, he was engaged with it at Landen

nd other battles in Flanders up to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In 698 his regiment became that of Dorrington, of which he was appointed ieutenant-colonel. He fought through the War of the Spanish Succession, n which he saw the cause of his adopted country go under by the 3ritish victories at Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet luring the first decade of the eighteenth century. At Malplaquet he ignalised himself by a brilliant cavalry charge, in which thirty of his)fficers were slain. In the other engagements he displayed such courage nd military ability that in 1712 Louis XIV honoured him with the Commandership of the Order of Saint Louis ; and in 1719, after the death)f General Dorrington, the Irish regiment, named after that officer, was hanged to the name of Rothe with Count Michael as its commander. In his new rank he served with the French forces under the Marshal 3erwick in Spain, where he assisted at various battles and sieges. Created ieutenant-general in 1720, he transferred his regiment to his son in 1733 nd retired from active service to his chateau at Hautefontaine in Picardy. There an accident led to his death on 2 May 1741. His daughter Lucy married in 1769 Colonel Arthur Dillon who was guillotined during the Revolution. (*See* DILLON, ARTHUR).

RUTLEDGE, JOHN JAMES, soldier, writer, &c. Born at Dunkirk on 5 August 1742, he was son of Walter Rutledge, a banker and shipowner)f that town. (*See* RUTLEDGE, WALTER). Intending to follow a military career, Rutledge in his youth entered Berwick's cavalry regiment of the Irish Brigade and took part in the early campaigns of the Seven Years War. He retired from the army in 1762 and devoted himself to literature nd politics. Possessing a perfect command of the French and English languages, he replied in 1776 to Voltaire in a work (" Observations à l'Académie ") in which he maintained the superiority of Shakespeare over French dramatists. During the Revolutionary period he played a notable part in the social and political questions of the time. In 1789 he came into much prominence when he attacked Necker, the Minister of Finance, charging him with a conspiracy to deprive Paris of bread. In connection with this he was imprisoned for some months. In 1791 he edited a newspaper in Paris, " Le Creuset," which was notorious for its extreme sentiments, and later he became editor of " Le Babillard " which published regularly the speeches of the demagogues in the streets and public gardens)f Paris. At this time he had friendly relations with Marat, who applauded his denunciations. He was a member of the Cordeliers Club till his expulsion in November 1791, after which the Jacobin Club refused him admission on account of his extreme opinions.

In October 1793 Rutledge was attacked by Fabre d'Eglantine in the National Convention and was imprisoned by the " Comité de Sûreté Générale " on vague charges. Many regarded him as a fearless champion

of the oppressed and unfortunate and an enemy of venality. His confinement in prison led to a breakdown of his health, and he died in March 1794. Many of the vicissitudes of his curious career are told in his "Premier et second voyage de Milord . . . à Paris." A part of this work deals with the life of Lord Massereene (*See* SKEFFINGTON), with whom he was a fellow-prisoner for some time.

A prolific and versatile writer, the Chevalier Rutledge, as he was generally known, was the author of many works, among which are: "Thamar: tragédie" (1769);" Mémoire sur le caractère et les moeurs des Francais comparés à ceux des Anglais" (1776); "La Quinzaine Anglaise" (1776); "Le Train de Paris ou les Bourgeois du Tours" (1777).

RUTLEDGE, SIR WALTER, banker and shipowner. Father of preceding. Born at Saint Germain-en-Laye, he was the son of James Rutledge (who followed James II to France from Ireland in 1691) and Juliana, daughter of Sir Thomas Blake of Galway. In 1741 Walter married at Dunkirk the daughter of a French landowner and became a naturalised French citizen on acquiring a property in Champagne. An enthusiastic Jacobite he was introduced to Prince Charles Edward by Lord Clare, and he joined Antony Walsh of Nantes (*See* WALSH, ANTONY) in advancing money for the cause of the Prince. Both Rutledge and Walsh had become wealthy from the West Indian trade and from privateering. Walsh fitted out the vessel known as the "Doutelle" which carried Charles Edward to Scotland, while Rutledge fitted out the "Elizabeth" to accompany it. Both vessels also proved useful after Culloden in bringing back to France many Jacobite refugees. In July 1745 Rutledge got a declaration of nobility signed by James III, who in 1748 created him a baronet for his services. He died at Dunkirk in 1779.

RYAN, EDMUND (CHEVALIER), soldier. Born on 1 October 1730, he was son of Jeremiah Ryan of Danganmore, Co. Kilkenny. In 1747 he emigrated to France where he entered Berwick's Irish regiment as a cadet. Having fought through the Seven Years War he was at its end promoted to the rank of major and by 1780 had become colonel of his regiment. He was later transferred to Walsh's corps with the rank of major-general. He retired from active service in the early period of the Revolution and died soon afterwards.

In 1772 Ryan was deputed (like his compatriot Sir Charles Wogan on a similar mission fifty years previously) to make a tour of inspection to select a wife for Prince Charles Edward from the eligible princesses of Europe. Power was given to him to conclude a marriage contract and, having chosen the Princess Louise of Stolberg, he was a chief witness at the marital ceremony in April 1772 near Ancona. Some weeks

reviously the marriage had taken place by proxy at Paris, after which ıe young Princess, escorted by Ryan, journeyed south to Ancona.

Ryan's elder brother James was also an officer of the Irish Brigade in ne French service. He was wounded at the battle of Lauffelt in 1747. ıfter a long military career, during which he went through many ampaigns, his health broke down, and for several years before his death n August 1795 he was confined in the castle of Bicetre near Paris.

RYAN, LUKE, soldier and sailor. Born *circa* 1750 at Rush, Co. Dublin, ıe emigrated to France where he entered Dillon's Irish regiment, in which ıe held the rank of lieutenant. After some years he left the army and, luring the American War of Independence, became conmander of the ' Black Prince " privateer under commission of the French government. For several years he inflicted much damage on English commerce round he French and British coasts. Early in 1782 he was captured on board he privateer the " Cologne " from Dunkirk flying the French flag. On 30 March of that year he was tried at the Old Bailey as a pirate. Witnesses were brought from Rush who proved his Irish birth, and it was sworn hat he had been a lieutenant in Dillon's regiment in France and that ıe was formerly in the smuggling trade between Rush and Dunkirk. He was four times ordered for execution after his trial at the Old Bailey ınd on each occasion reprieved. At the conclusion of the war between France and England he obtained his liberty through the mediation of the French court. During his days as a privateer he amassed a fortune of £70,000, which he had lodged in a mercantile house at Roscoff in Brittany. His war bankers, however, taking advantage of his legal incapacity to sue, appropriated the money to their own use. Ryan died in the King's Bench prison in London in 1789 while he was being detained there for a debt of £200.

RICHARD HAYES

THE CHURCH IN BRITISH BORNEO

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

BORNEO has always been a difficult and perilous field of labour for the missionary, and the establishment of the Church there is of comparatively recent date. The largest but least developed island in the Dutch East Indies, with an area equal to that of Poland and Germany, it has a mixed population of some 2,500,000 Malays, Chinese, and Dyaks—the name used generally to describe the aboriginal tribes of the interior. Its huge expanse of mountains and marshland are sparsely peopled; its climate, though healthier than in most equatorial regions, is hot and excessively damp owing to the heavy rainfall and abundant rivers and to the vast impenetrable swamps that lie in the coastal areas. Two-thirds of the island is owned by the Dutch; the remaining portion, North Borneo, Sarawak, and the small native state of Brunei, are under British protection and will very likely in the near future become Crown Colonies.

The original inhabitants of Borneo were probably Hindu Javanese, but they were dispossessed by Malay pirates who established sultanates, founded states, and subjugated and to some extent absorbed the native tribes. Chinese have played an important part in the colonization of the island, and to-day they are to be found in large numbers on the coast. European contact was made for the first time in 1521 when survivors from the Magellan expedition landed in Brunei on the north-west coast. Pigafetto describing his voyages refers to it as Bornei, which was later corrupted into Borneo and became the name of the whole island. The mineral resources of Borneo include coal, antimony, mercury, gold, and diamonds. Very soon the Portuguese arrived to open trade relations with the sultanate; while early in the seventeenth century began the conflict between Dutch and English for territorial supremacy that was to last the best part of three centuries.

I

Christianity was brought to Borneo by two Franciscans from the Philippines in 1587, one of whom was murdered by the Mohammedans. But the great apostle of the island was the Theatine, Father Antonio Ventimiglia, a native of Palermo, who from his earliest youth had been filled with an urgent desire to preach the Gospel in the East Indies—particularly in Borneo, then almost unknown. He obtained a prescript from Pope Innocent XI and in 1687 landed in what is now Dutch Borneo. No trace of his work remains, but according to contemporary Italian records he made many conversions, his apostolate being blessed with miracles. He is said to have converted fifteen provinces and baptised 200,000 persons, assisted by angels in this humanly impossible task.

is success earned him the hostility of the Mohammedan sultan who, ter several attempts at assassination from which the missionary was eserved by Divine Providence, took his revenge in a massacre of the ıristian converts. When Father Ventimiglia died in 1693, a year after s appointment as Vicar Apostolic, another Theatine attempted to ntinue his work but met a martyr's death in 1706, and all further efforts revive the mission were frustrated by the Dutch.

For more than 150 years no Catholic priest set foot on Bornean soil. hen in 1857 came Don Cuarteron, as colourful a figure as any in the story of the time. A Spanish sea-captain sailing between his native nd and the Philippines, in the course of one of his voyages he discovered recious treasure in a ship sunk in the China Sea. As no claimant was rthcoming the authorities at Hong-Kong, to whom he reported his nd, permitted him to keep it. It seems that during this time Don uarteron made a vow that, should his life be spared, he would become priest and would spend the treasure in redeeming Christian slaves from ıe Philippines who were now in bondage in Borneo. In pursuance of is purpose the ex-captain studied in the Propaganda at Rome and, ter his ordination, set out with two companions for Borneo. The Holy ee appointed him Prefect Apostolic of the newly created Prefecture of abuan (a small island off the north-west coast) and North Borneo. The)utch part of the island remained in the Vicariate of Batavia and was isited twice a year by the Jesuits from that Vicariate. It was not until 905 that Dutch Borneo was made a Prefecture Apostolic under the charge f the Dutch Capuchins, who still work in the Vicariate it has since become.

Don Cuarteron established missions among the Philippino Christians nd built schools and churches, but neither he nor his fellow priests ound it possible to penetrate into the interior for active work among ıe aboriginal tribes. One of the missionaries, the Franciscan Father iva, lived for a year in the Mohammedan state of Brunei, but by 1860)on Cuarteron was left alone. He lived on in Labuan Island until 1879, hen he returned to Rome to beg that the mission be entrusted to some nstitute or Congregation. Thence he went to Spain, where he died a ew days after reaching his native place. Nothing remained of the nterprise begun with such high hopes. Churches, schools, money—all vere gone and a formidable task awaited his successors.

II

These were the Mill Hill Fathers whom the Pope, through Cardinal Vaughan their founder, requested to take charge of North Borneo. In uly 1881 three young missionaries set out. They were the Fathers Cilty, Goossens, and Edmund Dunn—the last-named a Dublin man vho was to spend half a century on the island and become its second Prefect Apostolic. At Kuching, capital of Sarawak, they were welcomed by

Rajah Brooke. Forty years previously the English-speaking world had been thrilled by the story of the "White Rajah," Sir James Brooke, English country gentleman and one time officer in the East India Company, who in return for his assistance in helping the Sultan of Brunei to quell tribal wars in his dominions had been given the kingdom of Sarawak. Sir James had died in 1868 and it was his nephew, the second Rajah, who now extended to the missionaries a kindness and generosity they were not slow to acknowledge. He lent them a house, which they made their temporary headquarters and in which on July 23rd, the first Mass was said in the presence of seven Catholics. There they were joined by two other Mill Hill Fathers and by the Prefect Apostolic, Mgr. Thomas Jackson, who had come straight from the campaign in Afghanistan. As chaplain to the British forces there he had displayed a courage and devotion that had been an inspiration to all with whom he came in contact.

In his new field of work Mgr. Jackson was to have need of both courage and devotion. His Prefecture was extensive, embracing Sarawak, Brunei, and British North Borneo which was the northern cap of the island and belonged to the British North Borneo Company—a chartered company. Broadly speaking the inhabitants of the coast were Chinese Buddhists and Malay Mohammedans, while in the interior lived the native tribes, the "wild men of Borneo". The first mission was established at Kuching on land given by the Rajah. In contrast to Don Cuarteron and his companions these pioneer Fathers were miserably poor, having barely enough to keep themselves alive. What comforts they had they owed to the Europeans at Kuching, who were eager to give them all they lacked. They set to work without delay. Father Dunn went up the principal river in Sarawak, the Rejang, to Kanowit where he was to spend the greater part of his life, Father Kilty opened a mission among the Dusans, the biggest tribe in North Borneo, while Father Goossens remained to work among the Chinese at Kuching. Meanwhile the Prefect Apostolic had begun his intrepid exploration of an area twice the size of England and Wales. In his wish to discover the most suitable places for future mission stations he penetrated far into the interior, the first priest to do so since Father Ventimiglia two hundred years before. Danger and discomfort met him at every turn. Roads were unknown and the only means of travel was by canoe along the numerous rivers or on foot over *batangs*, paths made of tree trunks placed one after another over swamps and morasses—no easy mode of transit. While he was offered no such personal violence as missionaries suffered at the hands of the savages in the South Sea islands, he was at the mercy of jungle fever, wild animals, and the ever present risk of being involved in the wars that the various tribes waged continually against one another. Borneo has been called "the last stronghold of the head-hunters," and in some parts of the island head-hunting was common as late as 1927.

The Dyaks were not easy to convert. They had no formal religion; regular priesthood nor place of worship. They were steeped in perstition, and believed in evil spirits who had supreme power over eir worldly affairs unless circumvented by benevolent spirits, while eir idea of a future life was extremely vague. The missionaries soon alized that their best chance of establishing Christianity on a firm basis is by means of schools in which the boys could be kept away from pagan fluences. In 1883 a school for Chinese boys was opened at Sandakan, e town founded by the British North Borneo Company four years before d which had now a population of five thousand. Father Dunn had a hool at Kanowit, of which he wrote the following year: "The experience ready gained convinces us that Dyak children are capable of being ducated and trained so as to become valuable auxiliaries to the mission."

On the whole the Fathers were well received. One letter written in ose early days speaks of a tribe that refused to allow a missionary to ave them; another, of a native chief who, despite his six-and-twenty gods," travelled four hundred miles to beg that one of the missionaries sit his people. But, humanly speaking, the life was one of almost tolerable privation and hardship. "Tribal wars, fever, semi-starvation, the lot of the missionaries and the Sisters," the Prefect Apostolic was write a few years later. And again: "The life of some of them is a ntinual sacrifice, for they have to live in a state of semi-starvation and the midst of privations of all sorts." Their houses were bamboo huts ised on stakes above the ground; when they visited the natives they ayed in their "long-houses," where the skulls of their hosts' enemies lorned the walls.

While schools for native and Chinese boys were established in every ission, nothing could be done for the women and girls without the help Sisters, and so in 1884 Mgr. Jackson returned to England to make an rgent plea for them. He was successful, and the following year the first lissionary Sisters of St. Joseph arrived in Sarawak.

III

There is an interesting link between Ireland and Borneo in an account a visit paid by the Prefect Apostolic to Dublin in 1885. "Independent the handsome sum collected for the Mission a deep interest has been xcited among the good Catholics of that city which promises to take the rm of a movement for rendering permanent annual aid," says the riter. It does not appear whether this promise was fulfilled or not, ut we are told that friends and relatives of Father Dunn, "proud of his nnection with the Mission," decided as a token of their esteem to send m a bell for the church he hoped to build at Kanowit. The bell was ly despatched, but was lost in the Mediterranean. According to the port a second one was then sent, and possibly it is this Dublin-made

bell that now summons the natives to church in the isolated station in the interior of the island.

In 1886 a school for Chinese girls was opened at Kuching by the Missionary Sisters, the first of many that were to be an important feature of the work of the mission. About this time the native population was twice stricken by cholera that lasted for months and killed thousands. Priests and Sisters nursed the sick and buried the dead without thought of personal risk.

When the Mill Hill Fathers landed in Sarawak they had found among the Chinese twenty " nominal Catholics " and not a single one among the natives. Eight years later, in 1889, there were five hundred, including ten priests, five Sisters, two Brothers, and 130 children living in the missions—a goodly number to be supported solely by grants amounting to a £1,000 a year from the Sarawak Government, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Society of the Holy Childhood. There was no question yet of help from the converts, many of whom looked to the missionaries for material aid. The want of funds made expansion difficult.

But a greater obstacle to the development of the mission was the Dyaks' custom of continually moving from one place to another in order to find fresh ground for the cultivation of their crops. This was made necessary by the native method of farming in which the same ground could not be used more than once in six or seven years. Thus whole villages would move, sometimes a considerable distance, with the result that a mission established with much hard work would be left deserted. The obvious remedy was to introduce a more modern method of farming and to teach the people to use oxen and plough to prepare their ground instead of felling and burning trees as they then did. Father Dunn played an important part in the development of the farming scheme, and he interested his friends at Mill Hill to such good purpose that " The Borneo Buffalo Fund " is a prominent feature of contemporary records. Coffee plantations were established in an effort to keep the natives together, but coffee needs constant attention which they were not always willing to afford it. The missionaries persevered however and, when in 1891 rice farming on the irrigation system was introduced, the first year's crop yielded four times as much as that produced by native farming. But Father Dunn, writing from Kanowit, remarks ruefully that " periodic bouts of war frenzy do not agree very well with our farming scheme ". The Dyaks' belief that the success of their crops depended wholly on the goodwill of the gods prompted them to beg the priests' blessing on the fields. This was given only on condition that the owners relinquished their superstitious practices and replaced the bamboo altars on which were put offerings to the gods by crosses erected in their stead.

The resignation of Mgr. Jackson and his return to England, his health

ken by his labours, brings to an end the early history of the mission. ich had been done, but more remained to do, and Father Edmund nn who took his place in 1897 was well equipped for his responsibilities. took office at a moment of particular difficulty. Tribal warfare had erfered greatly with the stations in the interior, the rice and fruit harvest l been a failure, and the personnel of the mission were suffering from nt of nourishing food. One Father had died, ill-health had caused two re and two Sisters to be sent home, while another Sister, Dublin-born the Prefect Apostolic, was to die in the coming year. The accounts these early victims make poignant reading. Many of them lived only ew years after their coming to Borneo. All of them were young, only eager to spend their youth and strength in God's service.

Mgr. Dunn's first act was to hold a Synod at Kuching. Some of the ssionaries met there for the first time in fifteen years, such were the great tances and the great difficulties of travel. With that Synod begins modern period of the British Borneo mission. Since then steady ogress has been maintained. Stations multiplied, priests and Sisters nt out in increasing numbers, and by the end of the century the Catholic pulation had risen to 1390. In 1916 it was 4,273, and in 1931, the lden Jubilee of the Mission, it was 11,854. In that year a convent Carmelite nuns was opened in North Borneo, where nineteen Sisters ıy for the conversion of the island. In 1927 Sarawak and North Borneo re made into two Prefectures, Mgr. Dunn remaining Prefect Apostolic Sarawak. In the course of his fifty-two years in the island he had t it only three times, on each occasion to attend a General Chapter Mill Hill. He was on his way home in 1933 for the fourth time when died on board ship and was buried at sea. His name will live long in rneo ; as will that of another of the pioneers of 1881, Father Goossens, friend and colleague, who died two years later.

IV

It is said that, with the possible exception of certain portions of the ilippines, no part of the Far East suffered so much as North Borneo ring the late war. The Church there lost practically all its property d the work of years was undone in a few weeks. Before the outbreak the war in 1939 there were 20,000 Catholics in the two Prefectures, th sixty priests, forty-five European Sisters, some Chinese Little sters, and one Chinese Borneo-born priest, as well as sixteen seminarists. hen the Japanese invaded Sarawak in 1941 and overran the entire and, the British and Dutch Fathers and Sisters were interned at Kuching, ıere they remained until the Australians recaptured Borneo in 1945. ıe missionary was killed when the Japanese attacked a fort in which he d sixty Europeans had taken refuge in Sarawak, and two of the Fathers ed in camp. The Chinese priest was imprisoned and tortured, but was

eventually released and was able to look after the mission stations on the Rejang River and the Chinese Sisters. A few days before the surrender of the Japanese the eight Fathers and one Brother from the Tyrol who had been allowed to continue their work in North Borneo were marched into the interior. News of their death was later reported, though under what circumstances is not known. Almost every mission building was demolished. " Convents, churches, schools, hospitals, and orphanages were destroyed—some wiped out completely, whilst those that are still standing are complete wrecks," writes a Missionary Sister. All bore testimony to the kindness shown them by the Australian Division, who provided the half-starved Fathers and Sisters with food and clothing, medicines and other necessities. " They have been liberal and kind to a point of embarrassment," states the Prefect Apostolic of North Borneo, Mgr. Augustin Verhoeven. " The work of the Sisters appealed to them even more than ours . . . . . Jap fires and Allied bombing have caused terrible havoc in North Borneo . . . . . If no reparations are forthcoming, it will take us ten years and more to land where we left off in 1941."

But notwithstanding the effects on their health of three and-a-half years in a P.O.W. camp all are back at their work, housed for the most part in native huts. " Our Fathers are doing extremely well under the trying post-war conditions," writes Mgr. Verhoeven. " They have been hardened in the Kuching camp." Six Mill Hill Fathers have already gone out to North Borneo and others are preparing to go.

Ten Sisters had to be brought home on a troop ship, but the remaining thirty-three have returned to their mission stations, although they are far from fit for the hard work confronting them.

What effect the proposed cession of Sarawak to the Crown will have on the missions remains to be seen. It has aroused a certain amount of opposition both in Britain and Sarawak, despite the Rajah's assurance that his action is a purely voluntary one and represents the will of his people. But, whatever the outcome, the work of the Church goes on. The great hope of the future lies in the rising generation. " Our schools need our first attention," states Mgr. Verhoeven. " War has a dissipating effect on morals everywhere, and our people have been forced to live in close contact with the powers of evil, a haughty, ruthless, pagan power, in many cases scoffing at Christianity and at the Church, which they suspected of aiding and abetting the Allies. Although we believe in the future of our Mission and of its final conquest of North Borneo, there is grave cause for anxiety, and the near future has a hard time in store for us missionaries in the Far East."

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MACKENNA, S.J.

LXXIX

Elegy on Maol Seachlainn son of Domhnall Mór Ó Domhnaill who, after being head is name for six years, was defeated and slain on Wednesday, 5 June 1247, at the battle Eas Ruaidh by an English force under Maurice Fitzgerald.

GIOLLA BRIGHDE MAC CON MIDHE cc

1. Do shlán uaim, a Áth Seanaigh,
do-chuaidh cách id chlaoindeabhaidh ;
tárrus ort meing is meabhuil,
olc do ghreim do Ghaoidhealuibh.

2. Do shlán uaim, a Áthsa thoir
ag nar shuaill m'ádhsa an-alloin ;
ní guth ort a sanais soin,
olc do ghabhais re Galluibh.

3. A Éirne is adhbhar gáire
tred ghlanbhun go ngormfháinne ;
fad bhun mar do bhaoi Gráinne
a-taoi ar gcur do chongháire.

4. A Éirne Fhathadh Canann
far dathadh gach deaghabhall,
do chuan gá long nach lamhann ;
trom do shuan, a sheanabhann.

5. A thonn Easa Ruaidh rabháin
fa measa i n-uair (anfhorráin),
nír leig Gall ort a anáil
an tann fa port Parthaláin.

6. Caol Uisge fa hadhbha long
nochar gharrdha do ghormGholl ;
an Caol nír chonair do Gholl
ag Maol Doraidh 's ag Domhnoll.

7. Rom-chuir Áth Seanaigh fa seach,
rom-dheaghail is mo dhuaisbhreath ;
go dtí an bráth budh conair chreach
tar an áth ndomhain nduaibhseach.

8. Áth Seanaigh feasta go fann
mo cheasta nocha chabhrann ;
sruthán nach gabhann re Gall
uchán is abhann anbhfann.

9. A í Chonaill Chláir Eanaigh
láidh orainn bhar n-aindeabhaidh ;
bhur n-anadh ag Áth Sheanaigh
galar gnáth do Ghaidhealaibh.

10. Dá maireadh onchú an easa
do budh lomthrú an loingeassa ;
cuid an tsluaigh tall don treassa
do budh ball cruaidh coimhmeasa.

11. Adhradh an fhóid (díobh) do dhligh
ar marbhadh ríogh fhóid Oiligh
sluaigh na habhannsa gon fhior
go bhfuair m'anamsa a oighiodh.

12. Gan Mhaol Seachluinn is saoth leam
an chraobh ghealchruinn mhaoth mhéirsheang,
ionnsa gáir chosgair fa a cheann ;
is do thoscuibh áigh Éireann.

13. Nír thráth ratha béal ar béal
nocha racha acht do roiléan
—bheith go bráth ag ceas ní chéal—
ar n-áth ar n-eas ar n-oiléan.

14. A oiléan as úr trilis,
ar ar gcúl do chuimhnighis ;
ionmhain anam, a inis,
is calann do chuibhrighis.

15. Beithear gan mhac nDomhnaill de
ó nar lomlainn lat éirghe,
ionmhain corp do chaith ma-lle
do mhaith is t'olc, a Éire.

16. Doiligh liomsa, a Leath gealChuinn.
gan an druing gá (ndaighleanfuinn),
gan shúil mongdhuinn Maoil Eachlainn,
Í Dhomhnaill chaoimh chlaidheamhchuirr.

17. Mo cheann do-chínn gá bhearradh,
do-chínn sgín dá sgíthfheannadh,
a Thrí Mhoire dom mealladh
rí Doire ar n-a dhícheannadh.

18. Mairg do dhícheann an saor seang,
taom do-chífeam gan choingheall,
mar do bhí nó go mbé an ceann
rí mar é nochan fhoighbheam.

19. Mithid sgaradh is sgaoileadh
's an talamh ar tonnfhaoidheadh ;
is boing gill do gach Gaoidheal
Goill, a chinn, dod chomhmaoidheamh.

20. M'anam mo chorp créad do phoinn
ar neach don lucht do leanfoinn ?
saobh leam mo dhícheall don droing
do dhícheann Maol seang Seachlainn.

21. Ceann an ríogh ó dhóid go dóid
cia líon ris nach budh liachmhóid,
a dhream mhuirneach ris nach móid
ceann í Luighdheach 'n-a liathróid.

22. Do b'oirrdhearc Maol Seachlainn seang
ó gealChuinn nar fhaomh éinfheall ;
nó gur dhealaigh re a chlí a cheann
do bhí ós fhearaibh Éireann.

23. Maol mar Mhaol Eachlainn oile
a Reachrainn na ríoghraidhe
mar budh naomh gach rí roimhe
do-ní Maol a mhíorbhuile.

24. Loch Gile is luath do lingeadh,
a dhá bhruach do boithmhilleadh,
Loch Éirne is moch do milleadh.
Loch Méilghe do moichmhilleadh.

25. Mé 's mo reacht choidhche fam choim
is doirche ná gach doghrainn ;
beag ar Gall nDealgan mo dhoirr
dá deargadh ar Ó nDomhnaill.

26. Ágh do Gholl ghlas a glacadh
bas bhán do bhronn romhatal,
a Dhé nar thréig a thapadh
is nar léig é d'anacal.

27. Nir mheinic mearbhfall béarla
ar Mhaol Eachlainn airmshéaghdha;
uch do budh uair a dhéanmha
gen gur smuain guth Gaillbhéarla.

28. Go bhfuair a raghuin do rinn
sluaigh 'n-a aghaidh nír inghill;
do sáidheadh lear d'fhaobhruibh inn
's do bhean aonghuin fa a imlinn.

29. Taobh agus clí mo chridhe
do bhí faon a bhfoistine,
dá nar lean fáidh ná file
ná fear gráidh ná goistidhe.

30. Trí colla saora sleamhna
amon Aodha n-ileardha,
triur fial do bhí ar gach mbearna;
nír thriar acht trí thighearna.

31. Trí saoirdhreagain nach sir laoidh
i n-aoinleabaidh ghil ghéagcaoil
'n-a dtriar churadh taoibh re taoibh;
cian bhus chumhan an Chéadaoin.

32. Trí catha ón dubhaigh daoine
Ulaidh aca n-éagcaoine,
cath Muighe Rath, cath Craoibhe,
agus cath na Céadaoine.

33. Gan (sduaigh) nGall i n-a gheimheal
ann an uair do sgainnrigheadh
na Goill uaidh mur thairm dteineadh,
an maidhm thuaidh do tairrngireadh.

34. Nír thairrngir faidh ná file
tre (thairnimh mbáin) mbáistighe
an maidhm thuaidh crádh lem chridhe;
do shlán uaim a fháistine.

35. Mo rath do sgaradh rem sglainn
cath do laädh ar Lachlainn
do-bearair filidh i bhfaill
i ndeaghaidh chinidh Chathbhairr.

36. On uair nach mar an ghéag ghlan
ní ragh go m'éag im ionadh,
tugais nuachar, a Dhé, dhamh,
is mé an t-uathadh re hiolar.

37. Ionmhain aghadh i ngach am
rom-sgaradh is rom-sgíothdall;
ge bé ara mbé eire ann
mo sgeile is é nach íocann.

38. Mór a dhamhna, a Dhé nimhe,
m'abhra agus sé ar sruithnighe;
mó a obadh gá fhilidh
a chogar nach cluinfidhir.

39. Bráighe gheal fa ghruaidh shéaghainn
a n-uaigh is eadh bhidhgfhéaghaim;
an leaba (i dtá) uaim fhéaghaim
do bhá uair ní imghéabhainn.

40. Duine ar a ghrádh do-ghéanadh
dán duine do neimhéaradh;
muna truagh le Dia a déanamh
a dhuan cia nach ceinnéaghadh.

41. Ní chleachtmais teacht i dteach nGoill
'n-a neach is a neart orainn;
mór seol nach deigheol don droing
is eol do cheineol Chonuill.

42. Tug bás Maoil Eachlainn (uirre)
gan chraoibh cleathchoill chnóbhuidhe;
samhradh 'n-a dhiaidh is duibhe
ná ar marbhadh Bhriain Bhóruimhe.

43. Banbha do brisiodh a druim,
calma an clisiodh a comhruinn,
mithidh do ríoghaibh clann gCuinn
am do dhíoghail Í Dhomhnaill.

44. Mac Domhnaill ní dáigh dar leas,
doghraing go Máigh a mhóirthreas ;
ar sraon 's ar mearbhfaill mé (a eas),
's ní hé Maol Eachlainn fhóirfeas.

45. Gur thuit Maol Eachlainn san ágh
do sheachnainn taobh gach thulán ;
budh iomdha inghean bhos mbán
in-os fa Inbhear nDulán.
Do shlán uaim.

Translation

1. I bid thee farewell, O Áth Seanaigh ; in the perverse fight at thee the whole world died ; tricks and deceits were experienced at thee ; badly didst thou hold by the Gaoidhil !

2. I bid thee farewell, O Eastern ford where much good fortune was mine of old ; 'tis not to reproach thee that Goill speak, for poorly didst thou resist them.

3. O Éirne, to wander through (the land about) thy lovely blue eddying estuary makes one cry out (in delight) ; thou hast often roused the clamour of thy hounds about thy estuary where once Gráinne dwelt.

4. O Éirne of Fathadh Canann where every apple-tree is red, O ancient river, too heavy is thy sleep ; any ship would venture into thy harbour.

5. O water of foam-white Eas Ruaidh which proved so unfavourable (?) (to us) in the hour of the (Goill's) attack, no Gall ventured to breathe near thee when thou wert the home of Partholán !

6. Caol Uisce, home of ships, used not to shelter blue (-mailed) Goill ; no path for Goill was the Caol in the days of Maoldoraidh and Domhnall !

7. Áth Seanaigh has cast me down, it has cut me off from all hope of prizes being awarded me ; the way across its deep dark ford will be till Doom (known as) the path taken by plunderers.

8. Henceforth Áth Seanaigh will be known as weak, it holds no comfort for my sad thoughts ; alas ! a river which resists not Goill shall be called weak.

9. O scion of Conall of Clár Eanaigh, your defeat distresses us, your resting (in death) at Áth Seanaigh is a disease afflicting Gaoidhil for ever.

10. Had not the Wolf of the Waterfall been slain, that fleet (of the Goill) was doomed, that troop (of English) sharing in the fight would have had the worst of the contest.

11. When the lord of the land of Oileach was slain, they should have stood their ground, those troops of the riverside whom my dear friend commanded until his death.

12. I lament Maoilsheachlainn now gone, that bright shapely soft-skinned graceful-fingered prince ; one can not now raise a battle-cry for him ; his death is one of Éire's dread visitations.

13. That (battle) was no hour of constant success ; naught but the ruin thou didst work shall remain (in memory), my ford, my cascade, my island ; I shall never cease my lamentations.

. O fresh-tressed isle, thou didst think of attacking us in the rere ; O island, dear to us was the soul and body which thou didst lay hold of.

. The reason why we are now deprived of Domhnall's son is that thou, O Éire, wert not determined to arise ; dear to me, O Éire, is the body which received from thee thy gifts and thy blows.

. O bright Leath Cuinn, I grieve to be without those to whom I could have cleaved faithfully, without that hero of the dark-browed eye, the handsome stout-sworded Maoilsheachlainn Ó Domhnaill.

. I used to see (in dreams) my head cut off and a knife laboriously scalping it when, O Three Maries, the sight of the Lord of Doire being beheaded had driven me crazy.

. A curse on him who beheaded that noble graceful hero—a deed which doubtless (?) I shall ever have before my eyes ; a lord like him—never shall I have, no not till that head be replaced where it was !

. 'Tis time to scatter and flee now that the earth is resounding like the sea ; that Goill should boast of possessing thee, O head, means their triumph over all the Gaoidhil.

. Any folk to whom I now could cleave—what store would they set on my soul or body ? 'Twere mad of me to give willing service to the folk who beheaded graceful Maoilsheachlainn.

. To what folk would it not be a sad grief, dear friends, nay anger too, to see the head of the prince, the head of Lughaidh's scion, tossed about as a ball from hand to hand ?

. Famous was graceful Maoilsheachlainn, fair scion of Conn, who never yielded to thought of treachery ; until his head was severed from his body he surpassed all the men of Éire.

. Maol, like another Maoilsheachlainn from royal Reachra, works his miracles as (?) all the kings, his predecessors, were saints too.

. Quickly was Loch Gile crossed and both its banks ravaged with their dwellings ; quickly was Loch Éirne ravaged and Loch Méilghe too.

5. Gloomier am I than any depth of melancholy, my anger confined within my breast ; my rage inflamed over (the fate of) Ó Domhnaill has but little effect on the Gall of Dealga.

6. The white hand (of Ó Domhnaill) which gave away splendid mantles—'twas death for any grey (-mailed) Gall to feel its weight ; alas ! O God that Thou didst not refuse Thy aid to his impetuosity, and that Thou didst not let him be defended.

7. Maoilsheachlainn so famous in arms was not often at fault for a word ; there was once a moment when he should have used a word of English—though he did not dream of using it !

8. Till he was badly wounded by a spear-point troops were unfit to stand against him ; a multitude of spears was driven into him and a great wound pierced him in the middle.

9. The side and chest of my dear friend—faint was the resistance they could offer ; no seer or poet or official or gossip was near him to help.

0. Three noble smooth-skinned bodies, three generous heroes who had stood in every gap—not simply three men but three lords—lay about the ever-changing (Síodh) Aodha.

1. Three noble dragons needing no incitement, three heroes side by side, lie in one fair tapering grave ; long shall that Wednesday be remembered.

32. Three battles making folk gloomy and causing Ulaidh to lament are Magh Rath, Craobh Thulcha and this battle of Wednesday.

33. No chieftain of the Goill had been taken captive when the Goill all took to flight before him as at a cry of fire—such was the fight in the North which had been foretold.

34. But no seer or prophet foretold that Northern defeat sustained beneath a white rain-shower—how my heart grieves at the thought of it! Good-bye to thee, O prophecy.

35. My good fortune has been taken away from . . . . (?) a defeat has been inflicted on (Mac Lochlainn); poets are neglected now that the race of Cathbharr is gone.

36. Now that the bright prince (Ó Domhnaill) lives no longer, I shall never till my death feel at home again; Thou, O Lord, didst give me a spouse, but now I am alone and with many foes.

37. Ever dear to me was that face; it has been taken from me and this has made me blind and weary; that others, whoever they be, are burdened too does not allay my misery.

38. Good cause, O God of Heaven, have I for my eyes being wet; that his words will not be heard (by his dead patron) is the greatest trouble to the poet who wrote them.

39. That bright breast beneath lovely face—on the grave that holds it I cast only a startled glance; that couch (i.e. the river) in which it lies—I see it only from afar now (i.e. I shrink from looking at it)—time was when I felt differently, I would not have shrunk from looking at it!

40. A poem which a man has written in love for another, that other will not refuse it; who would not buy a poem written to himself—unless its writing be a sad production indeed?

41. We used not to submit to any Gall, anyone with power over us, but (now) many a policy which is not good for folk is a policy (necessary) for the race of Conall.

42. Maoilsheachlainn's death has left her (Banbha?) without any branch of nut-yellow hazel-bush; by his death the Summer is made darker than it was after the death of Brian Bóromha.

43. As for Banbha her back is broken, fierce is the rush to divide her up; 'tis time, 'tis high time, for the princes of Conn's races to avenge Ó Domhnaill.

44. We have no longer Domhnall's son to look to for salvation; ruin extending as far as the Máigh is the result of that terrible fight of his; O cascade, I am cast down and distracted and Maoilsheachlainn can not help me.

45. Till Maoilsheachlainn fell in that slaughter I was able to avoid being driven forth on the hill-side. Many a girl about the estuary of Dulán will now have her hands white (from beating them in grief).

NOTES

MSS.: Rawl. 514 (Irish Texts ii 10). The text is standardised, but any reading whose change is important is here noted. 2*b*. maghsa *c*. san- *d*. gabhus 3*d*. cur 5*b*. anfhoraigh 6*b*. garrga 11*a*. *Or "should have stained earth (with blood)"*; di 13*d*. *i.e. Ath Seanaigh, Eas Ruaidh, Inis Saimhéar* 15*d*. is dolc 23*a*. *Half of compound proper name is used for whole here and* 30, 35 25*d*. ndergadh 29*b*. foistide 30*a*. *i.e. Ó Domhnaill, Mac Baoighill, Mac Somhairle* 31*c*. na triar cur- 32*a*. dub- 33*a*. slu- 34*b*. thairng- mbaidh 38*b*. sruthnidhe 43*a*. uire 43*a*. brisidh *b*. clisidh 44*c*. as

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XIII.—THE LAPWING AND OTHER WADERS

THE LAPWING.—Besides being the best known and most widely stributed of the waders, the Lapwing or Green Plover is a bird of great :auty and utility. The adult is strikingly handsome, with a long crest id apparently black and white plumage, the upper-parts showing metallic een at close range. The crown and a broad pectoral band are black; e sides and back of the head and neck are white, and the white tail has broad, black terminal band. The under tail-coverts are rufous-buff, but e rest of the under-parts is white. The bill is black and the legs are ddish flesh. In the air the Lapwing is equally distinctive with its boldly ack and white effect, its broad, rounded wings and its relatively slow, ıpping action. The female has narrower, less rounded wings, and the ɔung are duller in colour and with shorter crests. One of the many names this plover is Peewit, from its ordinary note, a shrill, rather wheezy pee-wit," uttered in the air and sometimes on the ground, while a ɔmmon name in Ireland is Phillipeen which sounds very like one of its ılls heard near the nesting ground.

The Lapwing breeds in every county of Ireland and on some of the lands off the coast. Flocking begins sometimes towards the end of ıne, but usually in July. Birds from the islands come to the mainland, ıd inland families often move to the coasts and estuaries. At first the ocks are small, but they grow larger by the addition of numerous nmigrants which seem to arrive in September, though Barrington has ɔund little evidence from the light stations of autumnal migration before)ctober. Foreign birds continue to pour in until mid-November. Then ·om December to February there are weather movements resulting in oth arrivals and departures. A large number of the migrants come from ɔuthern Scotland and northern England. About 120 Lapwings ringed ı Scotland and 70 ringed in England have been recovered in many ɔunties in Ireland. Few come from south of Cheshire and Yorkshire. ı recent years I have noticed only one such recovery. It was of a Lapwing nged as a young bird in Suffolk on 25 May 1939 and shot on 20 February 942 at Bruff, Co. Limerick. Besides these British birds many probably ɔme from northern countries of the continent, passing through England ı their journey. Eight birds ringed in Denmark, four in Sweden, two ı Norway and one in Finland have been recovered in this country. The w recoveries of Green Plover ringed in Ireland show no movement of ɔnsequence, but observational data suggest that a proportion of Irish-·ed birds migrate to south-western Europe. Spring passage-migrants egin to arrive at the end of February, and Barrington tells us that Lapwings

are most frequently observed at the light-stations in March. These are birds which have wintered farther to the south, and with our winter migrants they leave our shores up to mid-April for North Britain and northern Europe.

One of the most remarkable migrations of the Lapwing ever recorded was a trans-Atlantic crossing in December 1927. From the 20th to the 27th of that month Lapwings were obtained in Newfoundland and Labrador, and were seen in numbers estimated at from 500 at one time to 1,000 at another. Among these birds was one shot on December 27th at Bonavista, Newfoundland, and bearing on its leg a " British Birds " ring which had been put on it in Cumberland in May 1926. As Lapwings are not indigenous to North America and as previously only a few single birds were recorded, it was concluded that all these strange visitors had crossed the Atlantic, as the ringed bird certainly had. It was an unusual feat for birds which are not regarded as particularly strong fliers and which do not normally perform very long migrations. They might have rested on the way, for Lapwings can swim if necessary, but this is said to have been unlikely owing to the rough seas then prevailing. At any rate they were helped across by a strong due east wind, which according to the weather reports of the time averaged a rate of 55 miles per hour, except for the last 100 or 200 miles from Newfoundland where the wind was negligible. Migrating Lapwings travel at a speed of 45 miles per hour, and this flying speed aided by a wind speed of 55 miles per hour would equal a speed over the earth of 100 miles per hour. On this reckoning the journey of approximately 2,200 miles from Cumberland to Bonavista would have taken 22 hours, but to this must be added 2 hours for the last portion where the wind did not help, thus giving a total of 24 hours. The birds were seen to arrive in Newfoundland at 3 o'clock p.m. (7 o'clock G.M.T.), so that would bring the starting to 7 o'clock p.m. G.M.T. on December 19th. This fits in with the known fact that Lapwings start their migrations after dark.

This extraordinary migration began as a weather movement. From December 16th to 20th there had been a cold spell, during which Lapwings in many places in Great Britain were seen leaving the west coast, presumably for Ireland, and 9 Lapwings ringed in southern Scotland and northern England were reported from Ireland from December 19th to the end of January. Hence it is generally supposed that the birds which reached North America were setting out for Ireland, but getting off their course proceeded on their way, helped by a favourable wind, eventually making land on the opposite side of the Atlantic. It is the experience of air-men that the crossing of the Atlantic is generally more difficult from east to west than from west to east, because the prevailing winds are from the west. This points to an explanation of the fact that American birds are more often found in these islands than birds from these islands in America.

is therefore not surprising that the appearance of so many Lapwings
Newfoundland and Labrador should have been regarded as somewhat
a phenomenon.

The Lapwing nests in meadows, arable land, rough pastures, marshes
nd the outskirts of moorland. Several pairs are often found in the same
eld. The nest is a hollow in the ground, often sparingly lined with grass,
ometimes quite substantially built, and generally placed on a slightly
evated spot. The clutch is normally four, though occasionally only three
nd rarely five are found. The eggs are olive or dark buff covered with
ots and blotches of black. They are usually difficult to see in the nest,
o well do they harmonize with the surroundings. In England the
apwing's eggs are regarded as a delicacy, and large numbers are collected
nd sold for food. Though in the markets, it is said, many eggs of gulls
ass for Plover's, writers on birds point to egg-collecting as one of the
auses why there are fewer Lapwings in that country now than formerly.
n Ireland the number of eggs taken is negligible. The Lapwing begins
o nest in April, and though it is single-brooded, eggs may be found up
o July, for it will repeat the clutch if some accident befalls the first laying.

The Lapwing, rightly called the farmer's best friend, is the most
seful wild bird in the countryside. Dr. Walter Collinge, an expert
uthority on the food of birds, says that it would be impossible to over-
stimate the value of this plover to agriculture. According to his estimate,
rrived at from the examination of the crop and stomach contents of 69
pecimens, 70 per cent. of the annual food of the Lapwing is beneficial
o the farming interests, while 30 per cent. is of a neutral nature. He
ould find no evidence that any part of the bird's food is injurious. He
ells us that the three chief items of the Lapwing's insect food are leather-
ackets, wireworms and beetles. In one stomach, for instance, he found
7 leather-jackets, remains of 22 crane flies and 43 beetles, in another
3 wireworms, fragments of numerous beetles and ground larvae, and he
dds that any of these items may fairly be regarded as representing about
ne-fifth of the food required and eaten by an individual bird per day.
On this reckoning a single Lapwing would destroy 235 leather-jackets or
365 wireworms in the course of a day.

Leather-jackets, which are often abundant in moist pastures and corn-
ields, are among the most serious insect pests with which the farmer has
o deal. The damage caused by them is often wrongly attributed to wire-
vorms, and the grubs themselves are frequently mistaken for wireworms.
No confusion between the two is possible if it be noted that leather-jackets
ave a soft, tough, dark-grey wrinkled skin and no legs, while wireworms
ave a hard, polished brown skin and six short legs just behind the head.
Leather-jackets are the larvae or grubs of crane-flies, familiarly known
s daddy-long-legs. The female crane-fly deposits her eggs from July

to September among coarse, rank foliage. In about 14 days the eggs hatch out dark, wrinkled grubs, which are about an inch long when fully grown. These live in the soil for about nine months, feeding during the milder portions of the year on whatever plants are growing, and going deeper under the surface in winter. During spring and summer the grubs come to the surface every night and cut the young plants at ground level or a little lower. The harm they do to grass is of little consequence, but the damage to young corn is often considerable. Plants attacked turn yellow and die ; there is a gradual thinning out of the crop, and frequently all the plants in large patches of the field, particularly in damp portions, may be destroyed. In summer the grubs pass into the quiescent, pupa stage, and after about a month the fully developed daddy-long-legs escapes from the pupa-skin. Large numbers of leather-jackets are eaten by crows and gulls during ploughing operations, but the Lapwing is particularly useful because it feeds at night when the grubs come to the surface.

The wireworm, the other serious farm pest, is the grub of the click-beetle. The female click-beetles lay their eggs in summer, depositing them almost entirely on grass land, especially where the herbage is long and coarse. The wireworms which hatch out from these eggs are narrow, smooth, hard-skinned grubs which grow to be about ¾ inch long. They remain in the soil four or five years, feeding during the periods from spring to autumn on the roots and underground parts of whatever plants are present. All types of farm crops may be attacked. The damage to grain crops, often on a large scale, is caused by the worm eating through the underground portions of the plants, while in the case of potatoes it burrows extensively into the tubers. Having spent four or five years in the soil the wireworms are fully grown and change to pupae, from which after three or four weeks mature click-beetles emerge. The late Mr. C. B. Moffat pointed out, from his own observations in Co. Wexford, that the services of the Lapwing in destroying wireworms are even greater than the contents of its stomach reveal : " For when preying on these grubs in frosty weather it is often closely watched by gulls. When a wireworm is pulled up by a Philipeen, a gull at once pursues and robs the successful bird, so that the Philipeen has to go on hunting, to the great advantage of the farmers, until it has caught enough grubs to satisfy the seagulls as well as itself." (Leaflet : *The Lapwing*).

Among the molluscs, enumerated by Dr. Colinge, on which the Lapwing feeds is the small water snail (*Limnaea truncatula*), to the presence of which in low-lying, wet fields is due the infection of sheep and cattle with the terrible disease known as liver-fluke. To make clear the essential connection between that small snail and liver-rot in farm stock, the curious life-cycle of the fluke parasite must be mentioned. The flukes which enter the bodies of animals are in an immature condition and very small, yet they bore their way through the intestinal wall and eventually reach

he liver from its surface, there setting up the conditions associated with he disease. At first the animal improves in condition owing to the timulation of the liver, but soon it begins to pine away and finally dies. In severe cases upwards of a thousand flukes may be found in the liver of a sheep. From the liver they pass to the bile ducts where they reach maturity, each tiny organism developing into a flat leaf-like worm which may be an inch long and half an inch wide. In the bile ducts they lay an enormous number of eggs, which pass out with the droppings. If the weather is fine and the grass wet, a large proportion of the eggs hatch out as small embryos. In this stage they are harmless to animals and live only a short time unless they happen to meet with the *Limnaea truncatula*. Embryos which come in contact with the small snail bore their way into its body and there they multiply, completely changing their character and becoming young flukes capable of infesting stock. When they leave the body of the snail they attach themselves to blades of grass, and in this position they are capable of resisting very severe weather conditions. If the infected grass is eaten by sheep or cattle, the parasites are conveyed to the animal's stomach, where they become free and begin their life-cycle over again. Thus without the intervention of the snail the fluke embryo is harmless, and hence the importance of the Lapwing's services in destroying the snails and ridding wet, low-lying pastures of a necessary condition for the spread of the disease. In the bad fluke years, 1925 and 1928, when the losses of stock owners in certain Irish counties were very great, it was found that the snail, the carrier of the disease, was numerous, because it was favoured by wet seasons and by the decrease of Lapwings. The plover had not yet recovered from the enormous mortality it suffered in the prolonged frost of 1917, while at that time vast numbers were annually netted for the market. It was not till 1930 that the law forbidding the netting of plover was passed. The prohibition was hard on many poor men who made their living by netting the birds, but it was felt that the amount realized by the bird-catchers was small compared with the huge total loss to the country by the pests which Lapwings would destroy.

THE BLACK-WINGED STILT.—The Black-winged Stilt is a very rare vagrant which has been recorded in Ireland only seven times. The last of these occurrences was a bird killed at Tory Island Lighthouse, Donegal, in April 1916, and the specimen is in the National Museum, having been presented by Mrs. Barrington. To these seven records must now be added another which I find has not been hitherto published. In mid-April 1942 Mr. Diarmod Hurley saw a black-winged wader with very long, pink legs in Granagoleen Marsh, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.W. of Clonakilty, Co. Cork. He visited the marsh and watched the bird, sometimes at very close range, three or four times a week up to early June. At first he did not know the species, but with the aid of Dr. John Kelly, Thornhill,

Ballinlough Road, Cork, the bird was identified as a Black-winged Stilt. On June 12th 1942, Dr. Kelly and Mr. Hurley called to see me in Dublin, and from their description it was evident that their identification was correct. Indeed the bird has such distinctive characteristics that it could not be easily confounded with any other species.

The enormously long, pink legs, the straight black bill and the boldly contrasted black and white plumage make the Stilt quite unmistakable. In winter both sexes have the head and neck white, but in summer some males have the top of the head and the back of the neck black. In the male the mantle, scapulars and wings are black, glossed with metallic blue-green, while in the female and young these parts are dark brown. The very long legs, giving the appearance of a bird on stilts, suggested the name of Stilt, though some of the older writers called it the Long-legged Plover. Even in flight the legs are conspicuous and project some six or seven inches beyond the tail. The purpose of the long legs is apparent when the bird is feeding. It wades deeply into marshy pools, snapping at hovering aquatic flies and catching beetles and tadpoles near the surface.

The Black-winged Stilt breeds in southern Europe and Asia, ranging eastward from Portugal and Spain, and in many parts of Africa. In recent years it has bred sporadically in Holland and Belgium and once in Germany while in 1945 two pairs bred successfully in England. The northern birds are migratory and winter in Africa and southern Asia.

THE AVOCET.—It is regrettable that such a beautiful wader as the Avocet has to be called a rare vagrant. It has been recorded only about twenty times in this country, chiefly from the south and east coasts with twice from Mayo and once each from Galway and Donegal. Hence it was regarded as an ornithological event when in the year 1938 two pairs of Avocets were found nesting within a few yards of each other in a southern brackish lagoon. Hopes ran high that the birds had come to stay and that the two pairs, which apparently brought off their clutches successfully, were only the beginning of a large colony. But in the six following years when we visited the lagoon, we found that the water had risen over the particular strip of land on which the nests had been built. Nor were the birds anywhere in the neighbourhood. If they had returned, they did not stay, for they are conspicuous birds and cannot be easily overlooked. The species formerly bred in England from the Humber to Sussex, but a little more than a century ago—owing, it is said, to the draining of the fens and to persecution—it ceased to nest and is now only a rare migrant to that country. There is no evidence that in former times it ever bred in Ireland. In Europe it breeds locally on the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, in Portugal, southern Spain, southern France, Albania, Macedonia, Austria and Hungary, the lower Danube, the Volga delta

the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas. Its breeding range is wide Africa and Asia. The birds which breed in the north are migratory winter in Africa and southern Asia.

The Avocet is a distinguished-looking bird, with its slim and dainty ɔe and its snow-white plumage boldly patterned with black. It is nistakable even at a distance. At close range its curiously up-turned, dle-pointed, black bill and its long battle-ship grey legs show a bird que among its kind. The legs extend beyond the tail in flight. With ially webbed feet, it wades in soft mud without sinking unduly and an swim well. Warren saw one swim out from fresh, shallow water he open sea against a wind when it rode buoyantly on the waves. It ls in mud and shallow water with vigorous side to side swings of its le-shaped bill, skimming food from the surface and swallowing it with rt backward jerks of the head. When resting it is fond of attitudes, n posing on one leg. A daring and aggressive bird, it will drive off ls and other intruders from its nesting ground, striking with its wings feet, but not with its bill. On one occasion on the island of Texel, en Mr. P. E. Dunn and I were watching a party of twelve feeding in hallow pool near their nesting ground, we witnessed an amusing instance their aggressiveness. When two Oyster-Catchers alighted at the pool l began to feed, the Avocets at once showed resentment. An Avocet h lowered head would rush at one of the intruders, becoming braver he latter retreated and pursuing it for some distance. But if the Sea- stood its ground, the attacker would halt in its onward rush and then etly withdraw to let another of its party take up the challenge to their ding rights. On the occasions when the Oyster-Catchers refused to ld ground, they just gazed impassively at the attackers without making attempt to retalitate, and one felt that if it came to a real fight, the ster-Catchers, being heavier and better equipped than the Avocets, uld secure a swift and decisive victory.

The Avocet is a noisy bird, at least in the vicinity of its nesting ground. e call is a melodious, clear, liquid " kluut " or " klooit ". In Holland bird is called Kluit from its call. It breeds in colonies of varying sizes. ur eggs are the usual clutch. Both parents have incubation patches l both brood and tend the young.

THE OYSTER-CATCHER.—The Oyster-Catcher is a common and wide- ead shore bird at all seasons. Even during the early summer, when st waders have retired from the coast, many non-breeding Oyster- tchers may be seen resting in flocks to await the turn of the tide. In umn and winter the numbers are greatly increased by the arrival of eign birds. Most of these migrants come, as far as we can judge from few recoveries of ringed birds, from Scotland, Iceland, the Faeroes l probably also from Schleswig-Holstein.

The Oyster-Catcher is probably the easiest shore-bird to identify. It is a thick-set, heavy bird, but it is colourful in its boldly pied plumage with its long, orange-vermilion bill and flesh-coloured legs and feet. The head, breast, back and wings are glossy black, with a broad, white wing band. The under-parts, the lower back and tail-coverts are white and the white tail has a broad, black terminal band. Owing to its black and white plumage a common name for the bird is Sea-Pie. In winter the front and sides of the neck are white, and the bill is horn-coloured towards the tip. Young birds have the upper-parts mottled brown. The flight is strong and direct with regular wing-beats, the bill often pointing downwards like a Woodcock's. It is a noisy bird, its loud " kleep, kleep " and " kleepa, kleepa " carrying far on the sea-shore and estuaries and warning all other shore birds of the approach of danger. Though usually very wary, single birds both when resting and feeding will remain to be inspected at closer range than most waders.

The staple food of the Oyster-Catcher consists of mussels, marine molluscs, crabs, shrimps, worms and insects. It is very expert at forcing open bivalves and at knocking unsuspecting limpets from their hold, for which operations its laterally compressed bill is eminently suitable. Apparently, in spite of its name, it does not feed on oysters. As the tide falls, the resting packs break up and the birds spread out to feed on the exposed rocks, sand or mud, often wading into the water. Sometimes they will fly a few miles inland to marshes, pastures and ploughland. In Dublin it is not uncommon to find one or two Oyster-Catchers in sports fields when games are not in progress.

The Oyster-Catcher breeds freely round the coast, especially in the north and west. The nesting sites are chiefly on marine islands, but sometimes on the mainland near the sea, while there are only three Irish records of inland breeding. Nests are built in a variety of positions: on rocks, in shingle beds, in grass fields and in cultivated land. I remember seeing on the Great Saltee Island two nests, which the ploughman proudly pointed out in a field of potatoes and which he had marked with stakes fixed in the ground so as not to disturb them during the tilling operations. The eggs, usually three in number, sometimes only two and rarely four, are of a yellowish-stone or clay-buff colour, blotched, spotted or streaked with brown-black markings.

P. G. KENNEDY

JEREMIAH J. CALLANAN

BY B. G. MACCARTHY

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Part II: His Poetry *

THAT irresolution which showed itself in Callanan's life is apparent also in his writings. That the poems which remain to us do not epresent his entire volume of work is generally accepted. The poets of ncient Ireland did not commit a composition to paper until it was mplete. Callan's method was identical, except that frequently he did ot ever write down what he had composed. He depended on his rodigious memory to reproduce it at any time, and postponed indefinitely ie task of setting it down. Some of Callanan's poems are now merely ames; for example, "The Lay of Mizzen Head," "The Bridegroom of arrigaonar" and "The Outlaw of Ca-o-mene." The poem of several housand lines which, in 1822, he composed on the Neapolitan Revolution an be guessed at only by the twenty-six lines which were apparently ken down from his lips—perhaps when he spoke them in the Hermitage r the assembled Anchorites.

Callanan grew up between two worlds—the Anglicised life of Cork nd the Gaelic life which enclosed the city on every side. When he avelled west, he was penetrating deeply into the native life and culture. When, from time to time, he returned to Cork, he moved in a circle within hich only the English language and literature were familiar. To such ssociates Callanan was like a deep-sea diver bringing from his journeys range and interesting fragments of a submerged world. Which culture as Callanan to choose? It was natural that he should write in English, nce that was the language which he knew best. Using English, would e write in the English or the Irish fashion? The answer is that he did oth.

Callanan's literary life cannot be divided. One cannot show that he rst passed through an English phase; that then, through the influence Gaelic culture, he found his true sphere to which he thenceforth adhered. ertainly it is true that his earlier poems were modelled largely on Byron nd Scott. But even when Callanan became absorbed in Gaelic poetry, e did not abandon the English mode of writing, but continued to produce ternately poems in the Gaelic and in the English mode.

Much the same observations must be made in regard to Callanan's ational consciousness. His slavish "Accession of George IV" is a roof that at twenty-three he had no sense of nationality, or was willing obscure it for the purpose of securing a prize. The poems which he

* For Part I see June (1946) issue.

wrote later in the Irish mode are full of patriotic fire derived, one must imagine, from Gaelic tradition and literature.

Callanan's prize poems, although of no interest, had shown facility in versification. They were succeeded by " The Recluse of Inchidony " (in Spenserian stanzas) and " The Revenge of Donal Comm ". Of " The Recluse " Richard Garnett truly says that it is " as good an imitation of ' Childe Harold ' as could well be written, but little more," yet one cannot ignore the lyric sweetness of the interpolated song " On Cleada's Hill ". " The Revenge of Donal Comm " is a legend of Glengarriff patterned after Scott and rigidly framed in octosyllabic couplets. The opening passage (which is the best part of the poem) shows Callanan's imagination kindling at the thought of the rugged country to which he had given his heart. This mood finds its most distinguished expression in " Gougane Barra," the most outstanding poem of this group. One can well believe that it was composed in a moment of exalted delight while outside his narrow shelter a storm raged. It is interesting to compare the lines which record a mere memory of thunder with those written under the direct impact. In " Donal Comm " we read :—

> Awfully the thunder
> Is shouting through the night,
> And o'er the heaven convulsed and riven
> The lightning-streams are bright,

—a dulled impression trying by words to achieve a *tour de force.* But as Callanan looks and listens to the mad tumult of lake and mountain, thought and feeling surging together find authentic utterance :—

> There is a green island in lone Gougane Barra,
> Where Allua of songs rushes forth as an arrow ;
> In deep-valleyed Desmond—a thousand wild fountains
> Come down to that lake from their home in the mountains.
> There grows the wild ash, and a time-stricken willow
> Looks chidingly down on the mirth of the billow ;
> As, like some gay child that sad monitor scorning,
> It lightly laughs back to the laugh of the morning.
> And its zone of dark hills—oh ! to see them all brightning,
> When the tempest flings out its red banner of lightning ;
> And the waters rush down, mid the thunder's deep rattle,
> Like clans from the hills at the voice of the battle ;
> And brightly the fire-crested billows are gleaming,
> And wildly from Mullagh the eagles are screaming.
> Oh ! where is the dwelling, in valley or highland,
> So meet for the bard as this lone little island !

But there was only one " Gougane Barra ". With few lesser exceptions Callanan's poems in the English mode are not worth serious consideration. It is a poetry of emotion not intellectualised by thought, not vivified by imagination, not deep enough for power, not personal enough for

dividuality. Such verse is sinewless, cloying. He lisps in melodious umbers, but he has nothing to lisp about. A delicate lyric touch one m claim here and there, but this soon dwindles into the sort of effusion iat used to be written in a young lady's album. Hackeneyed metre and ichés in rhyming still further weaken this kind of composition. Had allanan written only thus, then indeed " Gougane Barra " would be ie sole testimony of his poetic ability.

But when Callanan discovered for himself Gaelic poetry, he found xactly the sphere in which he could excel. To the beauty and passion f the Gaelic poets he brought his emotional and his poetic sensitiveness nd his melodious fluency. He had a mind which responded vibrantly o this cadenced thought, to the rising surge of feeling and the subtlety f vowel-pattern. He rested on the riches of antiquity, and his true istinct as a poet was freed at last.

When one remembers Callanan's opportunities as a poet, one must ament that, whatever he may have rendered from the Gaelic, only nine uch poems remain to us. Of their excellence there can be no doubt. What one must doubt is that they were mere translations. Callanan refaced certain of these English poems with the first line of the Irish oem from which it was taken. The following is a list of this group of Callanan's poems :—

(1) " The White Cockade " (Taid mo gra fir fi breataib du).
(2) " The Lament of O'Gnive " (Ma thruagh mar ataid Goadhil).
(3) " O say, my Brown Drimin " (A Drimin dówn dílis no síoda na mbo).
(4) " The Outlaw of Loch Lene."
(5) " The Dirge of O'Sullivan Bear."
(6) " The Convict of Clonmel " (Is dubac é mo cás).
(7) " The Girl I love " (Súd í síos an caóin ban álain óg).[1]
(8) " On the Last Day."
(9) " The Avenger."

Each of the first four poems in this list is drawn from a definite Gaelic riginal. For numbers 5, 6 and 7 one may cite in each case a number of arallel poems—none of which, however, can be fully equated with Callanan's English version. Each of these three translations of Callanan's oints to some poem which must have existed orally in Callanan's lifetime, ut which one has failed to find. For number 8, one can suggest a very robable Gaelic source. For number 9, no Gaelic original or parallel eems to exist. In idea it might be loosely associated with Súil Cabhrach Éireann. At any rate, it is a Jacobite song.

To discover Callanan's method of dealing with Gaelic poetry, we must urn to those translations of his for which there are known originals. By comparing the Irish and the English versions we may realise, to some extent, what Callanan really did.

" The White Cockade " gives us a clue to Callanan's technique. This

[1] These are precisely the Gaelic lines as given by Callanan.

poem is based on—certainly not translated from—Seán Clárach's " Bimse buan ar bhuaidhirt gach ló." Seán Clárach's poem was composed to the air of " The White Cockade ". It is easy to see then where Callanan found his title. There is no verbal correspondence between the Irish and the English. (Even if one accepts that " mo ghile mear " is actually " mo ghile, m'fhear," one cannot quite equate this phrase with " my fair-hair'd youth "). Like Seán Clárach, Callanan uses a refrain ; but, apart from this similarity in the opening apostrophe, it is certainly not the refrain of Seán Clárach. Nor does Callanan, like the Gaelic poet, speak in parables as to the identity of the hero. On the contrary, he opens with the defiant statement : " King Charles he is King James's son." This then suggests one essential of Callanan's method. He aims at rendering the spirit and the substance of Gaelic poetry, but he has no intention of making a literal translation. It is, in effect, a translation of ideas. When we remember the translations of Charlotte Brooke, Henry Grattan Curran and others, we realise perhaps the originality of Callanan's method and the measure of his achievement. But Callanan does not always even wish to retain the tone of the original. It is so with " The White Cockade ". Seán Clárach's tone was melancholy. Callanan's is a rousing call to arms. It does not pine in bondage, clinging to frail hope. It sees victory coming and has the power to seize it. It is most interesting to observe how Callanan uses a suggestion, but not the words (" No more the cuckoo hails the spring ") ; how he rejects what seems to him inappropriate. The justness of his instinct is shown in his recoil from the effeminate artificiality with which Seán Clárach compares the Chevalier to Mars and Cupid. Of this Gaelic verse John D'Alton made the following laughable translation (Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*) :—

> O'er his blushing cheeks his blue eyes shine,
> Like dew drops glittering on the rose's leaf ;
> Mars and Cupid all in him combine,
> The blooming lover and the godlike chief.

Callanan omits also the comparisons of the Chevalier with legendary Irish warriors. He could have used these, but he evidently realised that what was suitable to the slow movement of the Gaelic poem would weaken the wild rush of his own song. This economy is very well seen in Callanan's second verse, in which he unites the sorrow of the men and of the women, and refers to the obscured sun (verse 2, verse 4, and verse 3 respectively in the Gaelic original). The first four lines of Callanan's last verse consist in a concentration of ideas scattered through Seán Clárach's poem. The last four lines are his own :—

> The Prince is gone, but soon he'll come,
> With trumpet sound and with beat of drum,
> Then up with shout and out with blade ;
> Huzza for the right and the white cockade.

In " The Lament of O'Gnive " one may compare the translation of lanan and of Ferguson. The original Gaelic poem is a lament for the n of the Gael, interwoven with writhing scorn at their submission. ther Callanan nor Ferguson retains these two ideas. Callanan takes motif of scorn, which he exploits to the full. Ferguson takes the idea ragedy, but very little of the wild scorn. Callanan's poem is like a le-cry—a fierce incitement. Ferguson's is melancholy, meditative personal. In this it is more like the original. One might profitably sider the selectivity of these two translators. Their omissions are very nificant, but it would be tedious to give a detailed account of them e. Both fail to render adequately one of the finest verses in O'Gnive's ent :—

> Ni aithneann aicme Ghaoidheal
> Banbha, buime a macdhaoineadh,
> 's ni aithneann Éire iad soin ;
> Tiad re chéile as a gcrotaibh.

lanan loses the reciprocity of this non-recognition. He merely says : Ve know not our country." Ferguson gives fully the idea of reciprocity, he is too diffuse. Ferguson's poem expresses deep feeling, but it ks the wry-mouthed suffering of O'Gnive. Callanan produces a blunted line of the Gaelic poem. He sometimes uses clichés (" In the home the Brave, in the isle of the Free ") and his metre is unfortunate. the whole, his translation seems inferior to that of Ferguson. Both sions are to the original as a candle to the sun.

Callanan was largely unsuccessful in his effort to english O'Gnive. rtainly in " Mo thruaighe mar táid Gaoidhil " the interwoven moods, subtlety defy translation. The words are so tightly packed with aning and so enriched by association as to make English equivalents possible. One would say that all English versions of this poem must . Callanan's failure was all the more probable, since his gift needed a ject that was simple, personal and moving. When, as in " An uimfhionn Donn," he found such material, his ability is at once apparent. is difficult to say which version of " An Druimfhionn " Callanan used. e controlled passion of his English rendering could scarcely be bettered : begins :—

> O say, my brown Drimin, thou silk of the kine,
> Where, where are thy strong ones, last hope of thy line?
> Too deep and too long is the slumber they take,
> At the loud call of freedom why don't they awake?
>
> My strong ones have fallen—from the bright eye of day,
> All darkly they sleep in their dwelling of clay ;
> The cold turf is o'er them ;—they hear not my cries,
> And since Louis no aid gives I cannot arise.

Not only does he gather and integrate all that is of significance in the original, but he sometimes develops what is implicit :—

Dá bhfaighinnse cead aighnis
Nó radharc ar an gcoróinn,
Sasanaigh do leidhbfinn
Mar do leidhbfinn sean-bhróg

My people in battle the Saxons will meet,
And kick them before them, like old shoes from their feet.

But Callanan had power far greater than that of a translator. If we are to see this excellently displayed, let us turn to the best poem he ever wrote, for that he wrote it from his own being as an original poem, there appears to be no doubt. This is " The Outlaw of Loch Lene ". Writing of Callanan, George Sigerson says : " Moore unquestionably revived the spirit of Irish melody and first infused into poetry the legends of the land. It is Callanan's distinction—a great one, though ignored till now—that he was the first to give adequate versions of Irish Gaelic poems. Compared with preceding and many subsequent attempts, they are marvellously close and true to their originals. Take for example, the passionate vehemence of the ' Dirge of O'Sullivan Beare,' the native simplicity of ' The Girl I love ' and ' Brown Drimin,' the strain of weirdness in ' The Outlaw of Loch Lene,' given in metre unusual in English, but known in Irish— " It is possible that Sigerson had at his disposal sources now unknown to us. Perhaps he knew the precise originals of " The Girl I love," " The Dirge of O'Sullivan Bear " and " The Outlaw of Loch Lene ". If so, they are no longer available. At any rate, one has failed to find them. It is possible also that Sigerson, making a general estimate of Callanan's powers as a translator, gave as examples poems the Irish versions of which he had not himself investigated, but which he assumed to be in existence. Thanks to the research of Mr. Donal O'Sullivan, the spark of Callanan's inspiration for " The Outlaw of Loch Lene " has been traced to a Gaelic poem, " Muna b'é an t-ól ". To judge the measure of Callanan's independence in composition, let us consider the Gaelic verses and Callanan's supposed translation :—

Muna b'é an t-ól bheadh cóta deas ar mo dhruim,
Stocaí is bróga is léine gheal ar mo chuim.
'Siad na mná óga thóig an ualla an mo cheann,
'S dá leiginn-se dóibh dar ndóigh ní bhainidís liom.

Téanam go tigh an óil go n-ólam pota dhen lionn,
's a bhfuil do mhnáibh óga gan phósa tigidís liom ;
Níl an Eaglais dar gcóir 's níl a glórthai magadh ná a gcainnt,
* * * * faoi bharr na coille san ngleann.

Is fada me féin ag déanamh leanna sa' ghleann,
's gur deacair dhom é 's gan aon ghráinne bracha agam ann.
Ach duilleabhar na gcraobh mar éadach leapa os mo cheann,
Agus rún searc mo chléibh 's a géaga tharm anall.

Guid é 'mhaith dhom féin dá ndéanainn capall do bhó?
Guid é an mhaith dhom féin da ndéanainn seasrach sa' ló?
Guid é an mhait dhom é da ndéanainn obair a bhfuil beó,
Ó chaill mise an tséad a bhréagnóchadh cailín deas óg?

allanan's lyric is as follows :—

O many a day have I made good ale in the glen,
That came not of stream, or malt ;—like the brewing of men.
My bed was the ground ; my roof, the greenwood above,
And the wealth that I sought one far kind glance from my love.

Alas ! on that night when the horses I drove from the field,
That I was not near from terror my angel to shield.
She stretched forth her arms,—her mantle she flung to the wind,
And swam o'er Loch Lene, her outlawed lover to find.

O would that a freezing sleet-wing'd tempest did sweep,
And I and my love were alone, far off on the deep ;
I'd ask not a ship, or a bark, or pinnace to save,—
With her hand round my waist, I'd fear not the wind or the wave.

'Tis down by the lake where the wild tree fringes its sides,
The maid of my heart, my fair one of heaven resides ;—
I think as at eve she wanders its mazes along,
The birds go to sleep by the sweet wild twist of her song.

Callanan does not touch the first two Gaelic verses, which concentrate n the temptations of strong waters and women. But at one line in the hird verse his imagination takes fire. He seems to exploit the pun on he word " leann," which means both " ale " and " melancholy ". He piritualises the motif of love. Longing, not possession, is the tone of the English poem. The grossness of the Gaelic poem, one half-line of which s unprintable, he transmutes into a clean, mounting flame. The hero f the Irish verses is any commonplace rake with a stomach for drink and n eye for a wench. Callanan's outlaw is a poet whose universe is lluminated by the lightning of the mind. A convulsed sea and sky express he intensity of his feeling. Throughout the poem mood, background nd development are blended in beauty, and the words seem to have a ignificance beyond their face value. With what instinctive art does Callanan restore at the end that sense of tranquil beauty with which the oem opens ! One hint as to his way of realising a conception may be found in the contrasts which characterise this poem. His world is a world f flux, in which the quiet waters, touched by some divine finger, must

surge madly heavenward, then once more become apparently quiescent. But with Callanan such a calm is but surface deep ; and if we seek a symbol of this truth, we need only remember the vivid urgency of emotion in this " fair one of heaven " who sings the birds to sleep in the hush of evening :

> " She stretched forth her arms,—her mantle she flung to the wind,
> And swam o'er Loch Lene, her outlawed lover to find."

The evocativeness of Callanan's method is best seen in this poem. His mind is haunted by Gaelic cadences, ideas and expressions, so that he uses an idiom so completely Irish that it could quite spontaneously assume a Gaelic form. " The fair one of heaven " is an echo of spéir-bhean—that sky woman who wanders through so many Gaelic visions.

But it was not merely on the content of the Gaelic language and literature that Callanan drew. He knew, from listening to oral recitative, that the rhythm and the ingenious vowel-weaving were part of the magic. How take the thought and leave behind the poetic form to which the thought was wedded ? Others had tried to do this, and they had signally failed. Callanan was the first to attempt in his renderings a union of Gaelic thought, rhythm and vowel-pattern. Indeed a suggestion of Gaelic movement flowed occasionally into his poems in the English mode, as for example in " When each Bright Star ". One may note also that Callanan seems to have been the first to use an Irish refrain in an English poem, e.g. " Hussa tha measg na realtan more."

There are many Gaelic poems and fragments on the death of Murty Óg O'Sullivan. What does not seem to exist is a single poem which contains fully the material of Callanan's " Dirge of O'Sullivan Bear ". It would seem that Callanan united in his " Dirge " elements drawn from various sources. Callanan's poem consists in :—

(*a*) An introductory verse which describes the mourning in Ivera.

(*b*) Three verses which lay a curse on Scully the informer.

(*c*) A verse which describes how O'Sullivan's body was dragged to Cork in the wake of the Government ship.

(*d*) A verse which describes the burial of the headless body.

(*e*) A verse which describes the head impaled on a spike above Cork gaol.

(*f*) A final verse which apostrophises the ocean, reddened with the blood of O'Sullivan Beare.

The theme of lamentation is naturally the main constituent of all Gaelic sources. No source that one has seen so liberally anathematises Scully as does Callanan's poem. A curse is included in O Longáin's poem, and there was a metrical curse laid on Scully by Muiria, the foster-

ner of Murty Óg. Neither curse bears any relation to Callanan's. rin's ill-wish is as follows :—

A Thadhaig Í Sgullaidhe, diog trí d'chroidhe 'sdeach ;
Nár théir d'on t-saoghal go ndeuntar gniomh ort,
Do theang' as do cheann, 's do bhrannra sínte
'gus tu 'd dhogadh 's do'd loscad a bfhulus do dhaoinibh.

ongáin says :—

Mallacht an Athar do dhealbhuigh spéartha,
Mallacht an Mhic 'san Spirid Naomhtha,
Mallacht na nÚrd go dlúth le chéile
Ag damaint Thaidhg tug aghaidh na bpléar ort !

Callanan's words are as follows :—

Scully ! thou false one,
You basely betrayed him ;
In his strong hour of need
When thy right hand should aid him ;
He fed thee ;—he clad thee ;—
You had all could delight thee ;
You left him ;—you sold him ;—
May heaven requite thee !

Scully ! may all kinds
Of evil attend thee ;
On thy dark road of life
May no kind one befriend thee ;
May fevers long burn thee,
And agues long freeze thee ;
May the strong hand of God in
In His red anger seize thee . . .

Long may the curse
Of his people pursue them ;
Scully that sold him,
And soldier that slew him,
One glimpse of heaven's light
May they see never ;
May the hearth-stone of hell
Be their best bed forever.

" Marbhnadh Dhomhnaill Uí Chonaill " it is Puxley whose evil deed amed. Callanan ignores Puxley (who, after all, was an Englishman) concentrates on the treachery of Murty Óg's neighbour.

O'Sullivan Beare was slain forty-one years before Callanan was born. the poet's lifetime there must have been a great spate of poems, in the uths of the people, commemorating this dire event. Many of them, doubt, would dwell on the grisly internment of the headless body.

If none of them gave Callanan his fine simile for the dragging of the body through the waves, he was more than capable of inventing it :—

Had he died calmly,
I would not deplore him,
Or if the wild strife
Of the sea-war closed over him ;
But with ropes round his white limbs
Through ocean to trail him,
Like a fish after slaughter !—
'Tis therefore I wail him.

The best of these Gaelic laments which one has seen is that taken down by Peadar Ó hAnnracháin in Cloch na Coillte from Micheál Ó Finn. Much of this poem is missing. Unlike the verses of Ó Longáin, unlike "Mairbhne Mhuircheartaigh na Cuailleach," this poem of Peadar Ó hAnnracháin's provenance does not, with tiresome artificiality, compare the dead man with the mythical heroes of Rome or Greece. It speaks from the heart, and it gives a moving description of the body without a head exhibited to the rich people of Cork :—

Beidh fiadhach go bráth san áit gur chodail an seabhac
Ni bheidh fear gearáin san chion-áit do choiscfeadh do namhaid ;
Is e mo chreach chráidhte do chruth breágh bheith aca mar gheall
Á thaispeáint do lucht sparán igCorcaigh gan cheann.

Of the head, he says :—

Súid é an ceann dob fhearra do ceadh ar phearsain daonna
Chun cabhair do thabhairt do lagaibh bheadh ar easba an tsaoghail ;
Ba chrann maith bagair dot' charaid dá mairtheá tréimhse
Agus mh'amhngar greaduithe ceann an dragain ar spara 'na aonar !

Callanan's words picture for us that dreadful sight :—

Dear head of my darling,
How gory and pale,
These aged eyes see thee
High spiked on their gaol ;
That cheek in the summer sun
Ne'er shall grow warm,
Nor that eye e'er catch light,
But the flash of the storm.

However composite the material of Callanan's "Dirge," what he has given us is a spontaneous and individual composition. Here too are all the characteristics of native poetry—simplicity, vividness, melody and true feeling. The metre he chose has the rising inflection of wild grief.

The generous aid of Mr. Donal O'Sullivan has made it possible to some of the numerous Gaelic parallels for " The Convict of Clonmel " " The Girl I love ". In connection with " The Convict " one may tion the version of " Priosún Chluain Meala " first published by John aly, and which later appeared in *An Claidheamh Soluis*, Dec. 24, 4. This version has strong links with " Mairbhne Dhomhnaill Uí naill," the lament of Murty Óg's henchman, said to have been composed e he and John O'Sullivan were awaiting their execution in Cork gaol. onnell is named as the speaker in the *Claidheamh Soluis* version of iosún Chluain Meala ". Two verses in these two Gaelic poems are ost identical : the verse which begins : " A Chiarraidhaigh, bidhidh uidhe liom, is bog, binn liom bhur nglórtha " and also the last verse of poem. Callanan says in an introductory note to his own poem : ho the hero of this song is I know not." It is clear therefore that cannot have been thinking of the *Claidheamh Soluis* version. There lso the version of Priosún Chluain Meala which appears in Seumas ndillon's *Londubh an Chairn*. This has many aspects in common with *Claidheamh Soluis* version (except, of course that it is not penetrated elements of " Mairbhne Dhomhnaill Uí Chonaill "). Neither of these sions of " Priosún Chluain Meala " has the line which Callanan prefixed is own poem. One must believe that there really was a Gaelic poem, ; dubhac é mo chas," and that it contained in general the constituents the two versions which we have mentioned—constituents which are ted in " The Convict of Clonmel ". Callanan's poem begins with t was doubtless a translation of the first line quoted :—

How hard is my fortune
And vain my repining ;
The strong rope of fate
For this young neck is twining ;
My strength is departed,
My cheeks sunk and sallow ;
While I languish in chains
In the gaol of Clonmala.

Callanan's " The Girl I love " is sometimes taken to be a translation Liam Dall Heffernan's " I nGleanntaibh Séimh na hÉigse Bhinn ". ain one must face the fact that Callanan quotes a definite first line m his Gaelic original. This at once indicates that even though ffernan's poem may be cognate, it was not Callanan's source. One ld find other arguments to support this view. These poems only echo h other vaguely. Positive resemblances are limited to the fact that lover is enthralled by a maiden with flowing hair, whom he will not ne. The refrain is the same with both Heffernan and Callanan, but re is reason to believe that it was a refrain borrowed from the damental Gaelic poem from which grew a group of poems which might

be called the genus Pé in Eireann Í. It has not been possible to locate this Gaelic folk-song, but proof that it existed is afforded by the fact that, in the manner then customary, Seán Ó Tuama adopted it as the basis for a literary quatrain in the same metre (which is also Callanan's metre), to the same tune and with the same burden. His friend the Mangaire Súgach replied in five quatrains of the same type. If one examines Heffernan's poem and Callanan's, one will find that in no detail is there correspondence. Since Callanan usually ignored the mythological personages in his originals, it would not invalidate " i nGleanntaibh Séimh " to say that Callanan omits mention of Deirdre and Helen of Troy, although Heffernan has made such references; nor, since Callanan generally enhanced his original, would it be profitable to state that there is no foundation in Heffernan's poem for the lovely line : " Her lips like cherries on a summer tree." Nor indeed would it be convincing to seek proof in the fact that Callanan used a metre quite dissimilar to Heffernan's. It is significant, however, that Heffernan's lover is melancholy and Callanan's is gay. It is significant also that the last two verses of Callanan's poem have no relation whatever to Heffernan's poem. If we turn, however, to " An raibh tu ag an gcarraig ?" we find that it has a definite relationship with Callanan's poem; or, to put the matter in its proper light, it seems clear that " An raibh tu ag an gcarraig ? " has much that must also have characterised Callanan's Gaelic original, " Súid í síos an chaoin bhean áluinn óg." Indeed the last verse of " An raibh tu ag an gcarraig ? " even begins with the line : " Súid í síos an rígh-bhean áluinn óg." The first two verses and also verses 4 and 5 of " An raibh tu ag an gcarraig ? " have no counterpart in Callanan's poem, but there is a striking resemblance in verse three of the Gaelic poem (which is the equivalent of verse 5 of Callanan's) :—

> Is fiú cúig ghuinea gach ribhe da gruaig mar ór,
> Is fiú oiread eile a cuideachta uair roimh ló ;
> A cúilín trom tripilich a tuiteann léi síos go feóir,
> 's a chuaichín na finne, ar mhiste do shláinte d'ól ?

Callanan says :—

> Five pounds of gold for each lock of her hair I'd pay,
> And five times five for my love one hour each day ;
> Her voice is more sweet than the thrush on its own green tree ;—
> Then, my dear, may I drink a fond deep health to thee !

Edward Walsh translates the verse as follows :—

> Five guineas would price every tress of her golden hair
> Then think what a treasure her pillow at night to share,
> These tresses thick—clustering and curling around her brow—
> O, Ringlet of Fairness ! I'll drink to thy beauty now.

is true that there are certain differences between Walsh's translation l Callanan's, due obviously to minor changes of phrase which one uld expect in a folk poem which survived by oral transmission. llanan's Gaelic original had surely for the second line of this verse : s fiú oiread eile a cuideactha uair sa ló." For the last line Callanan ms to have taken " cuaichín " to be " little cuckoo," which bird he nsforms into a thrush. The last verse of " An raibh tu ag an gcarraig ? " echoed in Callanan's first verse.

Callanan's poem " On the last Day " has not been traced to any rce, but it seems probable that it expresses an idea borrowed from dhg Gaedhlach, to be found either in " Duan Íosa " or " Duan Mhuire " probably in the latter, since this provided the better description of the . At any rate, taking into account various details and a striking rrespondence of ideas, it is reasonable to conclude that " Duan Mhuire " s, in this case, Callanan's inspiration. Callanan's vision of Judgment y is as nothing to Tadhg Gaedhlach's. That is not to say that it is very good in itself, except for the last four lines, which dwindle off akly.

All efforts to find the original of " The Avenger " have failed, but newhere perhaps there exists a poem which begins : " Dá bhfeicinnse lá sin, budh shásta bheadh m'intinn." It would be fortunate if it me to light, as Callanan's fine poem can only be evaluated in relation its source.

Much research remains to be done as to the originals of some of llanan's poems. The slight results incorporated here are merely an ort to open up a field which Gaelic experts alone may successfully plore. However, even this incomplete survey may help to establish llanan more firmly as a translator and as an original poet. Corkonians, o have a deep affection for Callanan's memory, may reflect that it is t local patriotism which has enshrined him as a singer ; that Leeside d truly something of the greatest significance to offer to Ireland through e lips of this poor son. We remember that Callanan looked back and nged to become the heir of the old Gaelic poets :

> Least bard of the hills ! were it mine to inherit
> The fire of thy harp and the wing of thy spirit !

at was precisely his destiny—half-seen, dimly realised, but wonderfully hieved.

B. G. MacCarthy

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY*

BY PETER BRENNAN, M.A.

JUST twelve years ago Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office as President of the United States, and the New Deal programme was inaugurated. The Tennessee Valley Authority dates from the very beginning of the New Deal. It was set up by a statute of Congress in May 1933. Its powers were not too tightly defined, and the lines of business in which the statute authorised it to engage were very miscellaneous—it was created primarily to take over and operate a derelict plant, but it also had various other duties. Amongst these, navigation and flood-control were stressed, for the good reason that they were functions explicitly acknowledged in Supreme Court decisions back to 1824 to come within the Federal " commerce " power as granted by the Constitution. But such services represented only part of the range of useful work to which a body like the T.V.A. might be put. The Presidential message of April 10, urging Congress to approve the bill, mentioned among the many problems to be coped with in the Tennessee Valley : " soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry ". The authority, it went on, " should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation."

The organisational pattern of the T.V.A. has had to be modified in a few particulars since then, the broad effect of the amending legislation being to rule off policy more carefully from administration in the daily conduct of its affairs. Control is vested in a Board of three directors, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate ; the directors are aided by a Comptroller, who is head of the Finance Department, and by a General Counsel, who is head of the Legal Department. A General Manager is chief executive, and it falls to him to prepare and recommend the annual budget for adoption by the Board, to which he is responsible. He also has his assistants—a Chief Budget Officer and a Director of Information. Lastly there are the five working divisions which take their orders from the General Manager and have parcelled out to them all the ordinary clerical and constructional activities of the Authority.

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* Herman Finer : *The T.V.A. Lessons for International Application* (International Labour Office, 1944. 6s.)

David E. Lilienthal : *T.V.A. Democracy on the March* (Penguin Special, 1944. 6d.)

C. Herman Pritchett : *The Tennessee Valley Authority. A Study in Public Administration* (Chapel Hill, 1943.)

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The Tennessee, at its top reaches, is formed out of five streams flowing wn from the Appalachian Mountains. Where they unite, the main m of the river begins. Its course, which measures 650 miles odd, is stward, curving to the south between the extremities. It is likened by lienthal to a deep crescent, with the eastern tip near Knoxville, the o slicing off the northern third of Alabama, the western horn " arching rthward through the flat red lands of Western Tennessee and Kentucky "; ducah, where it spills into the Ohio, is in Kentucky. Between Knoxville d Paducah there is a drop of roughly 500 feet. The river's drainage a (42,000 sq. miles) is, to give a comparative measure, greater by e-third than the whole area of Ireland, and T.V.A. administration it was to involve activities by the Federal Government within the ritorial jurisdictions of no less than eight States—Tennessee itself, rginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Missippi and Kentucky. aggy belts of forest (a good part of it farm woodland) account for 54 r cent. of the area. A feature of great significance in the whole economy the Valley is that rainfall is abnormally heavy there—50 inches or ore. As for population figures and vital and occupational statistics, must be appreciated that in a period of accelerated economic change ese do not stand still, and only the rough proportions and orders of agnitude are worth fastening on. Census figures of fifteen years ago the position as it was before the T.V.A. went to work. They put the pulation at something over two millions. It has approximately doubled nce : some, at least, of the increase must be set down to net immigration. n the occupational side, the area is predominantly an agricultural one : nall family farms, averaging perhaps 75 acres in extent, are the ordinary it, though the plantation system keeps its hold in the more gently dulating western end, which is an alluvial cotton-growing district.

It will be useful, before reviewing what has been done since 1933 on d about the Tennessee River, to examine why that area rather than y other was chosen for the planning venture. One reason was historical— e existence on the Tennessee, at Muscle Shoals in Alabama, of an mense idle plant, federally-owned, which there was an understandable xiety to put into profitable production. Muscle Shoals, both as a potential wer-site and as an extremely actual hindrance to navigation, had been ceiving national attention since Jackson's time. Nothing, however, was ne about it until near the end of the first world war. The United States, willing to remain dependent on Chile for the nitrates needed in manu- cturing explosives, decided at that time to resort to fixation of atmospheric rogen, a process requiring large amounts of power ; and Wilson named uscle Shoals as a site for nitrogen production, authorising the construction ere of a dam and two nitrate plants. This was in the late months of 17. The war ended while the dam was in-building and before either the plants had got into full production ; subsequently (1924) the dam,

named after Wilson, was completed, bringing the total investment up to 150 million dollars.

The problem of the use to be made in peacetime of this costly gear now became pressing. Should it be turned over to the production of fertilisers for agriculture? Should it be operated by the public authority or sold to a private bidder like Henry Ford—and if sold, at what price? The dispute on these points raged for fifteen years, in Congress and outside it, without any decision being reached. The T.V.A. Act, which was inspired principally by Senator Norris of Nebraska, provided an escape from the deadlock at last, a concrete plan for an Authority which was to transform the white-elephant property at Muscle Shoals into a going concern. Undoubtedly this was a major purpose of the Act, and the Tennessee region was selected partly because it would allow a regional planning experiment to be grafted on to the re-opening of the development at Muscle Shoals. The fact was known well by enemies of the T.V.A., who alleged that the Act was no more than an iniquitous design to prop a dud investment and throw good money after bad.

This criticism ignored the other factors that went to make the Tennessee Valley a particularly fit subject for organised economic overhaul. Flood-control was urgently needed. The Tennessee flows into the Ohio, and the Ohio into the Mississippi; after periods of heavy rain, the Tennessee not only wrought havoc all along its own banks—washing through riparian towns like Chattanooga and causing annual flood damage on the river estimated at 1,780,000 dollars—but in addition, and much worse, it contributed substantially to the disastrous Lower Mississippi floods. Then, from the navigational standpoint, the opening of the river would link its ports with the greatest connected system of inland waterways in the United States. Power could also be generated profitably as a by-product of these water-control projects. Above all, there was the consideration of the desperate plight of the farmers throughout the river basin. Shifting cultivation, with soil-mining of the most pernicious kind, had been practised in the past and had left its mark everywhere. Forest cover had been burnt away to make more land available for improvident tillage. Fertilisers were little used. The land needed terracing to store water, with much greater use of soil-binding crops; but what the farmers did was to grow more and more Indian corn, and that by the unsuitable method of row-cropping. Gullying and sheet-erosion took place as a result: rain washed away the topsoil into the river. The whole countryside began to wear a stricken and emaciated appearance.

All this has been wonderfully changed in a decade of reconstructive effort. The crux of the matter will always be cost and the question of political method; but critics of the T.V.A. do not as a rule contest the credit side of its record, and they would probably concede that it has done its job of regeneration thoroughly and in a spirit of magnificence.

gantic dams have sectionalized the river, so that it is now better described a chain of lakes. This valley, exceptionally, was not the site of any portant road and railway arteries whose relocation would involve hibitive expense, and it was possible in consequence, though displeasing electricity interests and somewhat costly, to build the dams higher oding wider areas) and give them a chance to do more than mere vigability required. All the dams thus serve—only incidentally, T.V.A. okesmen maintain—for power generation. Those on the Tennessee lf (nine in number) have as their principal functions the improvement navigation and control of floods : there are a dozen other T.V.A. struc- es spanning the headstreams, and these are essentially storage dams. Flood-control is about the least controversial of the T.V.A.'s activities d the most conspicuous success. Norris Dam by itself cut four feet m the crest of the March 1936 flood at Chattanooga. During the mendous Ohio River flood of 1937, storage in the Norris and Wheeler ervoirs is calculated to have reduced by six inches the maximum stages far away as Cairo, Illinois. The system was again the means of averting aster in the wet winter of 1942. Dr. Julian Huxley mentions an estimate t the construction of the Kentucky Dam alone would save the Illinois ntral and two other smaller railroads a sum of over 10 million dollars cessary otherwise for raising the tracks out of flood danger. In promoting vigation, the chief engineering feat has been the construction of a 9-foot annel extending from Paducah, the point of confluence with the Ohio, ht up to Knoxville, a distance of over 600 miles. Water-borne traffic, asured in ton-miles, has expanded fivefold since 1923. Many types of ight new to the Tennessee are included in it, such as pig-iron, petroleum oducts, grain and motorcars. A great pleasure-boat industry has grown also ; at Norris the T.V.A. itself operates one demonstration boat ck, and it lets others to concessionnaires. Again, the water-control oblem has had to be tackled on the land as well as on the river—logically, leed on the land first of all, since the amount of drainage into the river pended so largely on agricultural practice on the high ground above d erosion of the soil was the first cause of silting-up at the dams.

New attention has been given to soil-fixing crops (legumes in particular), planting of black locust and other trees and shrubs, to terracing on ntour lines, to building of check-dams to save the gullied slopes and tting-back of land unsuitable for arable crops into grass or forest. ricultural development has been encouraged in various other directions thout this specific reference to what the river wanted. Phosphatic tiliser, produced at Muscle Shoals in a concentrated form, enabling to be transported at very low cost, has been used to enrich the soil— pedeza and other legumes providing the nitrate element. (Muscle oals has gone back to nitrate production now, but for war purposes only, t for agriculture). Outlets have been provided for new types of produce,

including a variety of nuts and fruit, and the farmers have been persuaded to form their own co-operatives. Tennessee's demonstration farms have apparently been a real success, so much so that nineteen States outside the Valley have adopted the same model. Researches carried out by the T.V.A. have been extensive and generally fruitful. A good deal of importance has also been attached to the development of parks and fisheries and other recreational resources, and the Valley is now a major tourist centre, with an annual income of over 100 million dollars from these amenities.

Other activities in which the Authority has engaged include chemical engineering, town planning, publicity, malaria control (made more necessary by the T.V.A.'s own operations, which created large bodies of standing water), constructional work of all kinds, wild life conservation, housing, surveying, the encouragement of rural industries, road-building, the running of fleets of boats, planes and trucks, hospital and police and fire departments, personnel training, even education. Apart from this, private enterprise seems to have been stimulated by the return of prosperity. The Tennessee Valley went all out from 1940 as a war production centre, but already income per head had increased to 73 per cent. over the 1933 level as against 56 per cent. for the country as a whole. Bank deposits and retail sales increased by 76 per cent. and 81 per cent. respectively in the period 1933-39, compared with increases of only 49 per cent. and 71 per cent. for the United States.

In one of its more important individual aspects the Tennessee Valley Authority is an agency for the generation and transmission of electrical power—many people, in fact, are still unaware that it is anything else. The apparent threat to private enterprise was greater in this sphere than in any other, and it happened that the holding company controlling the utilities was in a position to put up a stiff fight: other interests, such as coal and ice-production, also felt themselves challenged. That is why the principal political and economic issues raised by the Tennessee experiment have been most forcibly stated in relation to electricity supply. At first, and until 1936, the whole output of the T.V.A. came from the Wilson Dam plant, but an ambitious power policy had been announced as early as August 1933, and in time this was gradually put into effect as successive dams and power houses were completed. Also, besides operating hydro-electric stations, the T.V.A. acquired six steam plants, and the total capacity of both sorts already installed or authorised is well over 2 million kilowatts.

Now, from about 1927, Congressmen and journalists had been familiarised with the notion that America needed a power enterprise publicly owned and operated as a "yard-stick" or comparative measure to test the results shown by the utility companies. It was thought that private concerns in the electricity business were not sufficiently interested in expanding consumption and had a preference for higher rates on a

l output ; but it was not enough just to think it—consumers required definite standard by which to assess the service they were getting. les, experiment would put an end to all the barren disputation about her public enterprise would or would not work. Mr. Roosevelt in 932 election campaign advocated the adoption of the power yardstick , and when the T.V.A. Act was passed in the following year, there very general expectations that the Authority's rates were going to he unanswerable argument to the utility owners.

Unit costs in electricity supply have no fixity ; subject to the limits enerating capacity, they drop away steadily as output increases ; and, moreover, is elastic. It is never appropriate to point to the high s of producing the present output and to settle rates with reference to these—a much greater output might sell profitably at lower rates, g to the spreading of overheads. The policy decided on by the T.V.A. a good illustration of its traditional " consumer attitude ". It involved ct of faith : reliance was placed on low rates to foster a huge expansion of umption such as would justify the cut *ex post* from the cost standpoint. such promotional rates there was the excellent business precedent of Model T Ford car ; and the T.V.A., on general grounds, was anxious e living-standards raised by greater use of current in the home. It did itself undertake the retail distribution of power in ordinary cases, but municipalities supplied by it charged to residential users the rates h its schedule prescribed—3 cents in respect of the first 50 kilowatt-s bought in the month, then 2 cents, 1 cent, 4 mills for successive es, rising to $\frac{3}{4}$ cent for any kilowatt-hours in excess of 1,400: an average as it turned out, of slightly over 2 cents. The corresponding rate he United States was $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents in 1933, reduced by 1939—largely as ult of the T.V.A. demonstration—to 4 cents and, by 1942, to 3·7 cents. scaling-down of rates gave a marked fillip to consumption in the ey and to the sales of electrical appliances. Use of electricity per had been well below the national average and has now for years been above it. Unit costs, calculated on any basis, must have fallen iderably, and many American utility companies have discovered commercial possibilities of lower charges to the consumer.

Enthusiasm about the yardstick idea has mostly evaporated by now. it was hoped to establish an indisputable measure of the cost of ient production of electricity, and it has by general agreement not done. T.V.A. rates are disputed everywhere and on several counts. utility owners say, with some colour of truth, that the Authority not operate on the same clear-cut cost basis as private enterprise . It has, for instance, a number of non-incurred costs—items properly geable as costs but remitted in the case of the T.V.A.

The greatest difficulty of all derives from the existence of so much iple-purpose equipment in the T.V.A.'s system. What is the best

allocation of the capital cost of these structures? The old text-book dilemma about costing commodities like wool and mutton which are in joint-supply was presented here in an aggravated form. The T.V.A., it was said, could assign an undue share of the capital cost of its projects to navigation and flood-control, and could then show on paper a profit on its power investment, even while selling at subsidized under-cost rates. Actually the method of allocation—based on what is called the "alternative justifiable expenditure" principle—was only decided in 1938, which means that the Authority had been functioning until then without any defined cost basis at all. On the method adopted, if the power programme is to be self-supporting (as directed in the Act), power revenues must cover not only power running-costs but also depreciation and interest on 65·8 per cent. of the total investment. The precise figure is, of course, subject to adjustment as new construction proceeds. The return earned on the power investment, with depreciation calculated on a 3 per cent. sinking fund basis, was 4·4 per cent. for the fiscal year 1941.

Public Works of the useless sort have in the past been much indulged in. To Lord Keynes the type was perfected in the pyramids, but one need not go so far afield. The vicinity of Dublin is littered with monuments built during or following the famine winter of 1741-42—such structures as the conical barns at Churchtown and Leixlip, or the Mapas obelisk on Killiney Hill: relief works planned for the sake of the wage payments they entailed. Most public works are now, as a matter of fact, designed to render some direct service. Those organised by Vogel in New Zealand in the early seventies of the last century were of an intrinsically useful character—improvement of communications, land settlement, etc. The capital created in Tennessee is clearly of this description also. A more pertinent question is whether it exemplifies public works at all in the sense in which they are generally understood. The T.V.A. was mainly provided for out of current taxation; public works are associated rather with deficits bridged by loan. The loan method is the more suitable of the two wherever recovery is looked for, since taxes, however steeply progressive, are likely to restrain consumption somewhat. It might be argued that business in the United States has been as much depressed by the levy of taxes to feed the T.V.A. as it has been stimulated by the enlarged industrial demand deriving from T.V.A. enterprise. Such costs, however, were not true or necessary costs of the scheme if they could have been precluded by the use of an alternative method of financing. Qualitatively the services rendered by the T.V.A. appear to bear a not unfavourable comparison with any services of private enterprise that it is alleged to have jeopardised. But this is in the region of controversy. Also open to controversy is the question as to how far so vast an enterprise as the T.V.A. has useful lessons for Ireland.

PETER BRENNAN

MAURICE LENIHAN: HISTORIAN OF LIMERICK

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

O'HART, in his first volume of the *Irish Pedigrees*, tells us that the name Lenihan was that of a family of note in N. Tipperary and chiefs in a district of Co. Waterford now known as the barony of Upper ird. According to the same authority, Maurice Lenihan's family was cended from this latter branch. Of Maurice Lenihan's more immediate estry we only know that his paternal grandfather, who came of farming ck from Ballybunoga, Co. Waterford, settled in Waterford City in the er half of the eighteenth century. In all probability it was Maurice's ndfather who founded the family business in Waterford City. The Mgr. O'Riordan, Rector of the Irish College, Rome, in an article olished shortly after Maurice Lenihan's death, mentions that Maurice en spoke of his father and grandfather as " venturers ", a term applied local usage to men who carried on some barter trade with foreign ntries. According to this account—for which Lenihan himself vouches is grandfather and father used to freight a vessel with Waterford goods Newfoundland and, after disposing of the goods there, bring back a go of Newfoundland goods to sell in Waterford.[1]

At all events, when Maurice Lenihan was born, his father James nihan is described as a woollen draper of Broad Street, Waterford. nes Lenihan must have had a fairly prosperous business ; for Broad St. s then the leading business quarter of the city in the early decades of last century. The maiden name of Maurice's mother was Margaret rke. This lady was a native of Carrick-on-Suir, but her family was ginally of Limerick stock who had been settled, according to a family dition, in Carrick " for a few generations ". It might be suggested t this family left Limerick about the time of the Williamite siege ; for, ording to another tradition in the same family, some of their ancestors re among the " Wild Geese " who fled the country and took service oad in the Irish Brigades after the failure of the Stuart Cause. The rkes of Carrick seem to have been a well-to-do family in the woollen de. Without undue irrelevance to the subject of this paper, a few of ir names may be introduced here. The Rev. Ulick Burke, P.P., of adbally, Co. Waterford and Edmund Burke the philanthropist were nduncles of Maurice. Of the former, Maurice tells us in the miniscences :—

> A granduncle of the writer's . . . . Rev. Ulick Burke, who was ordained by Bishop of Waterford, in a small room in the Bishop's house in Clonmel, on 27

[1] In Newfoundland in 1763, out of a total population of 13,112, there were 4,795 Irish holics. See article " Irish Bishops in Newfoundland " in *Studies*, March 1931.

April 1788 and, being sent out to Louvain to study after his ordination, was in Paris during the worst days of the reign of terror. Passing the Bastille when it was being besieged, he was pressed to work in the trenches, but succeeded by a stratagem in making his escape. Coming over to London, the son and heir of a noble family in France was entrusted to his care and, on reaching English soil, the youth full of joy knelt down and blessed the hour that witnessed his escape from the fiends of the Revolution. [Fr. Burke died in 1829 at Stradbally, while his nephew Maurice was still a student at Carlow College].

The other granduncle of Maurice Lenihan, Edward Burke, whose name is still remembered in Carrick-on-Suir, was for many years a merchant in Waterford City. He died a very wealthy man and in his will left a sum of £30,000 to found an asylum or almshouse for deserving citizens of Carrick—a charitable institution which is still in existence. From the " Scrap-Book " (a miscellaneous collection of family letters and correspondence on historical matters, now the property of the Limerick Co. Library) we learn the name of a sister of Maurice Lenihan's mother. This aunt, Mother de Sales Burke, was for many years a nun in the Presentation Convent at Carrick-on-Suir. She was born in 1787, entered the religious life in 1810, and lived to the ripe old age of 97. The " Scrap-Book " as well as the Lenihan Correspondence in the National Library contain some of her letters to her nephew. The value of Mother Burke's letters lies in the fact that they enable us to trace various other members of this family, while they provide us with the only information available regarding Maurice Lenihan's wife and children.

Maurice Lenihan was born on 5 February 1811 in St. Patrick's parish, Waterford, and was baptised in the Parish Church that formerly belonged to the Society of Jesus. His godfather at Baptism was Fr. Nicholas Foran, who later became Bishop of Waterford. Maurice was the eldest of a family of ten boys and five girls. He received his early education at a day school which was then attached to St. John's College. Of this school he tells us : " Strange as it may appear, Protestant boys were accustomed to resort to it for their education."

In 1823, Maurice was sent to Carlow College. " I entered," he says, " the College on 18 July 1823, with my brother Thomas, who died in less than two years afterwards—in February 1825. My father accompanied us to the College from home, which we left on the previous evening (Friday) by Bianconi's car for Kilkenny, where we slept at the Bush Hotel that night and reached Carlow the next morning about 11 o'clock." Some idea of Lenihan's career in Carlow College may be got from various entries in the College records of the period. He did not enter St. Patrick's as an ecclesiastical student, as has often been said. He entered the College as a lay-student, as is clear from the Report Books which deal exclusively with lay-students. Besides, his name never occurs in the lists of the ecclesiastical students. The error regarding this period of Lenihan's life may be due to the fact that, for many decades past, St.

ick's College (Carlow) has been a centre for ecclesiastical studies
. The College, however, in the early period of its existence catered
cessly for lay-students also, and this department for lay-students in
ihan's time is the parent of the present-day Knockbeg College.
From the report books of the College we can learn something of young
ihan's tastes and progress in his studies. He showed marked ability
ne classics and in modern languages (French and Italian). Mathematics
e evidently not to his taste. Ironically enough, he showed no ability
History and eventually dropped the subject, as his masters must have
sidered it a waste of time for him. He was an enthusiastic member
he College Debating Society, and in his Reminiscences speaks of many
is contemporaries whose prowess as public speakers in later life was
shadowed in those far off days. Chief among these were James
tan Lalor and J. T. Devitt, who for many years was an outstanding
re in public life in Limerick. If Carlow boys of that period received
y encouragement to train themselves in public speaking, it is no less
to say that they received a like stimulus to enable them to master the
e difficult art of writing. In 1811 was inaugurated a College Magazine
tled *The Oracle*, which was a symposium of the best essays written
he course of the year. The inaugural number of this magazine is the
one, apparently, that survives. In Lenihan's time, however, *The*
cle was still flourishing and, in a review of the first number of *The*
low College Magazine (issued in 1869), we are told by Lenihan : " It
bout forty years since *The Oracle* enjoyed its highest reputation under
distinguished editorship of the Revd. Edward Kinsella, then a Professor
he College. . . . . At one o'clock each Sunday . . . . all the students,
lesiastical and lay, assembled to hear read the best essays which *The*
cle gave forth, with the running commentary of the gifted Editor."
cannot trace the names of the contributors, as each article is signed
ler a pseudonym. This in itself was an excellent plan as it encouraged
to participate in the competition to have their first literary efforts
olished.

Lenihan's merits as a classical scholar received a remarkable tribute
ecognition when he was chosen out of all the student body to compose
atin ode in honour of Bishop Doyle (" J.K.L.") when the latter returned
m London after giving his memorable evidence before the British House
Lords. In a letter to William Francis Fitzpatrick some thirty years
r the event, when Fitzpatrick was writing the *History of the Life and*
nes of Dr. Doyle, Lenihan gives us a description of the celebrations at
low College on the joyous occasion :—

> I well remember 1825, when Dr. Doyle returned from his examination in
> liament. We illuminated Carlow College in his honour ; and at the annual
> demic exhibition in that year, I happened to be selected by Dr. Kinsella to write
> congratulatory ode in honour and welcome of Dr. Doyle on his victory in the

Lords . . . . The study hall was crowded to excess ; many now numbered with the dead were there in the exuberance of joy inspired by the occasion. Dr. Doyle occupied a rich throne in the Academy Hall. As the boys of the lay college, a fine group of eighty, proceeded up the room and approached, his countenance was lighted up with extreme pleasure ; and how well I remember the noble expression which beamed from his eyes glistening with the light of genius and radiant with good humour, as I went on to discharge the honourable and gratifying duty I was chosen from my companions to perform. [Then follows a remarkable reminiscence of the great patriot bishop]. On Sundays it was my custom to go into the Parish Church from the College grounds to hear him preach. What a preacher was he! How stately—how solemn—how impressive—how grand ! The form of the apostle and the patriot now, after the lapse of thirty years, is strongly impressed upon my mind, reminding one of the Chrysostoms, the Cyrils of Alexandria, or the Ambroses of the early ages of the church. No one ever heard him on the altar of Carlow Church that would not wish to hear him again. And no one ever listened to his wonderful exhortations or more elaborate sermons without profit . . . without being impressed by the majesty and power of his eloquence.

It was at Carlow College too that young Lenihan saw Daniel O'Connell for the first time. O'Connell was accompanied by Richard Lalor Sheil at the Leinster Provincial Meeting for the promotion of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. The meeting was held in the Parish Church—apparently because no other suitable venue was obtainable. Lenihan again does not tell us how he managed to be present. In his Reminiscences he quotes the speech made by Sheil on the occasion, remarking that the speech in question is not to be found in the published edition of Sheil's speeches. Perhaps he had already decided upon his future career and persuaded an indulgent Rector to let him have the opportunity of testing his bent for journalism.

Another of Lenihan's memories of Carlow days may be permitted here—the story of Bishop Doyle and the plaster cast. It seems that a needy artist named Tournarelli had decided to try his luck by making a statue of the famous prelate. But how was he to get the Bishop to pose for the statue ? Taking his luck in his hands, he asked for an audience of Dr. Doyle and, being ushered into his presence, fell upon his knees to explain as respectfully as possible the reason for his coming. The artist then explained that he was anxious, from patriotic motives, to provide posterity with a true likeness of his Lordship. His Lordship, far from being impressed by the patriotism that inspired the request, just became angry instead. The unfortunate man, in desperation at the thought of losing forever any opportunity of having a likeness of his Lordship, straightway confessed that lower motives of a pecuniary nature were not unmixed with the loftier patriotic intention already expressed. Bishop Doyle was at once disarmed by the poor artist's candour and, with all the humility of the truly great, allowed Tournarelli to take a plaster cast of his face. This charming story, for some reason hitherto overlooked or rejected by the various biographers of J.K.L., is given at

he length in the Reminiscences. Lenihan assures us that he heard it n Tournarelli himself at a soirée in the house of Timothy Nowlan, a kseller of Carlow town, in 1828. He was only a boy of seventeen at time and was to spend another three years at Carlow College.

Lenihan has much to say about Carlow College in the Reminiscences. ain and again he returns to the names of his former professors : Dr. nsella, Dr. Nolan, Dr. McSweeney, Dr. Cahill. The social side of llege life is not neglected. He has much to say of the excellence of the ys ; yet he does not seem to have taken part in them himself. His vices as a member of the orchestra or as a solo player were in demand such festive occasions. An entry in the College cash books records the rchase of violin strings by Maurice and his brother Thomas. We know t Maurice was a gifted musician, though it must be admitted that his utation in this respect was later to be overshadowed by that of his more ted son James Lenihan.

According to the College Records, Maurice Lenihan did not return, parently, after mid term 1829. And yet the long obituary notice, written his son for the *Reporter & Vindicator* of December 31, 1895, states :— When he had spent six years at Carlow, his father died and the loss s a crisis which gave direction to his future career. He was one of a ge number to provide for after an expensive education. Nevertheless was kept at College for two years longer, when an accident turned n to journalism." Mgr. O'Riordan, who was the intimate friend of aurice in his last years, states that he left Carlow College in 1831 ; d Maurice himself mentions in the Reminiscences that he left in his entieth year. It seems most likely, then, that he spent eight years at rlow ; for if he left in 1829 he could hardly have failed to remember at year which will always be memorable for the passing into law of the tholic Emancipation Bill. Nor would he have been likely to forget at it was the same year in which his father died at the early age of rty.

II

Lenihan's son has told us that it was an accident which turned his ther to journalism. Yet, it is more probable that he had *quickly* to make his mind as to the means of earning a livelihood ; for there is evidence at the family business had ceased to prosper after the death of Maurice's ther. During the summer vacation of 1831, according to the obituary otice mentioned above, Maurice went to spend a holiday with a Mr. acket of Clonmel, a cousin of his and the editor of the *Tipperary Free ress*. The Summer Assizes were then in progress, and Mr. Hacket got s young visitor to help him in reporting and preparing materials for the aper. Young Lenihan showed an aptitude for the work and writing me easy to him. Mr. Hacket then persuaded Maurice that he was marked

out for a successful career in journalism, so Maurice then and there decided to throw in his fortunes with the *Tipperary Free Press*. He remained with his cousin, however, only two years. From the start of his journalistic career, he seems to have acquired the gift of making and keeping friends. He could now speak as friend to friend to such a celebrity as Richard Lalor Sheil, whom he knew hitherto only by sight since the day he mitched school in Carlow. Michael Doheny and many more of those who were later to become known for their connection with the Young Ireland Movement were now being gradually added to his list of acquaintances. His work as a newspaper reporter brought him into contact with all classes of people. The leisurely progress of the Bianconi coach was conducive to conversation to while away the long hours of travel. He discussed the present and future of Ireland, and his companions on the journey reasoned about these things from what happened in the past. Gradually he acquired a rich store of local history and anecdote. To add to his knowledge he invariably sought out the oldest local inhabitant and acquired some of that local colour which he was to display to good effect in later years when he came to write his *magnum opus* the *History of Limerick*. The tragic story of Fr. Nicholas Sheehy of Clonmel, stories of the Raparrees, and many other stories of the past not quite so tragic were listened to at first hand. At the persuasion of some friends Lenihan left the *Tipperary Free Press* in 1833 and joined the staff of the *Waterford Chronicle* in the hope that his ability would have a better field and wider opportunities in his native city. The *Waterford Chronicle* had been in Catholic hands since 1826, just seven years previously, when it was acquired by the Barron brothers at a cost of £3,000. Philip Barron was a well known Gaelic Language enthusiast—surely a phenomenon amongst journalists in the early decades of the last century. The management of the *Waterford Chronicle*, however, did not long remain with Philip or his brother ; for they had to close down to avoid a heavy action for libel threatened by some local magnate whose influence with Dublin Castle was paramount. The *Chronicle* then passed into the hands of Peter Strange of Aylwardstown Castle, Co. Kilkenny, who was a nephew or cousin of Cardinal Wiseman. " During Mr. Strange's time," Maurice tells us, " and at a comparatively early age I became its editor, publishing three times a week and a weekly paper in addition, with little or no assistance. I went through my work with hearty good-will and a stout heart."

Lenihan has some interesting things to tell us in the Reminiscences concerning these early years with the *Waterford Chronicle*. In his journalistic capacity he met the celebrated English writer William Cobbett during the latter's lecture tour in Ireland in 1834. Lenihan could not fail to be impressed by a man of Cobbett's intellectual stature, a man possessed of so thorough a knowledge of History, Economics and Sociology

science then almost ignored. In preparing reports of Cobbett's tures for his newspaper he tells us : " I could not refrain from doing that lay in my power to finish off Cobbett's lectures as far as I heard m. I liked the way so well in which he put his opinions that I felt asure in making a fair and favourable transcript of them in my notes, Cobbett afterwards stated that he never got better reports of his tures than those which I gave." It may be remarked here that Lenihan ver learned any short-hand methods of reporting ; his notes were irely in long-hand. His memory however was remarkably developed, l with the aid of a few long-hand notes he could reconstruct a lengthy ech. He was frequently complimented by O'Connell for his faithful dering of the latter's long orations. Indeed, during the following ade when O'Connell's movement for the Repeal of the Union was its height, Lenihan had come to be regarded by all as the spokesman the press.

The most memorable of Lenihan's experiences during his association h the *Waterford Chronicle* were those of the tithe war. The tithe war s just gathering momentum when he joined the staff of this paper. s splendid exposition of the case for abolishing the tithes made the *aterford Chronicle* one of the best known provincial newspapers. The rk was dangerous and difficult. In after years he had many memories this stirring period—the massacre at Carrickshock, the shootings at rmoy, the enormous meetings of the people held to protest against the tem at Michelstown, Tincurry, etc. He seems to have been more than passive observer at the anti-tithe demonstrations. Perhaps he felt on casion that it was up to him to make news for his paper by taking part the proceedings. Mingled with tragic memories of this period are me that for Maurice were not so tragic. In a meeting at Clonmel e evening, Lalor Sheil happened to be the principal speaker. The hering was held in a large loft near the hotel where Sheil, Lenihan d the other speakers happened to be quartered. The meeting was a at success, but unfortunately only a fraction of the audience could be mitted. At the end of his speech, Sheil left the room with Lenihan prepare copy for the press. They had no sooner reached the door en the floor of the loft collapsed. Fearing that the crowds outside ght only make the confusion now raging within the collapsed loft worse n it was, with wonderful presence of mind they began to harangue concourse outside on the utter iniquities of the tithe system. Meantime, discomfited audience within were able to leave the rickety building various exits with nothing worse than a few scratches. It seems that arles Bianconi was present in the capacity of chairman, and Lenihan turally lamented that his excellent friend (this is his habitual manner referring to Bianconi) should come by any mishap. On another casion Lenihan and a few others were travelling in a coach to attend

an anti-tithe demonstration. They were hailed by a soldier (a redcoat) who asked them for a lift, and the party within the coach consented. The meeting was assembling in a field considerably nearer than they had anticipated and, when the crowds saw the redcoat within the carriage, there was an immediate call to arms or, rather, sticks and stones. Lenihan and his companions had considerable difficulty in persuading the rowdier elements that they were not police.

After an association with the staff of the *Waterford Chronicle* for eight years, Maurice Lenihan reluctantly gave up the post for a new venture in journalism. At the persuasion of many friends he applied for and secured the post of editor of a newly-founded journal of liberal views—the *Limerick Reporter*. This paper was started by a Limerick gentleman, James Rutherford Brown. The date of the first issue of this paper was significant—July 12, 1839. Rutherford Brown was a liberal in politics and from the start the new paper strongly urged the Repeal of the Union, a question that had now come to the fore with the temporary settlement of the tithes question. Lenihan arrived in Limerick on June 11, 1841, but remained as editor of the *Limerick Reporter* only until March of 1843. During his last years with the *Waterford Chronicle* he seems to have toyed with the idea of relinquishing journalism for the law. His ability as a public speaker attracted the notice of some eminent lawyers, and in his Reminiscences he mentions the encouragement he received from Sir Michael O'Loghlen to desert " the Fourth Estate ", as he usually describes the journalist's lot : " I happened one night to be called rather suddenly to respond to a toast and, having acquitted myself as well as I could under the circumstances, I was complimented by O'Loghlen, who intimated how good a prospect lay before me should I think well of pushing my fortunes at the bar."

Lenihan, however, decided to continue in the career on which he had first set his heart. But he had not yet found the paper or the town that gave him full satisfaction. How he ultimately found both will be told in a further article.

FRANCIS FINEGAN

REVIEWS

The Pope and Peace

'S OF PEACE. By Rev. Reginald F. Walker, C.S.Sp. Dublin: Gill. 1946. 7s. 6d.

ARITY ABOUNDING. The Story of Papal Relief Work during the War. London and Dublin: Burns and Oates. 1946. 1s.

E PAPACY AND WORLD PEACE. By Guido Gonella. London: Hollis and Carter. 1945. 12s. 6d.

HER WALKER has set himself the task of giving us a bird's eye view of Papal cy during the war, and his book has the qualities as well as the defects of a ely-packed digest. When we note that all the important Papal addresses since) are dealt with in 182 pages, we do not expect lengthy commentary; the author provided us with a reference book rather than a treatise, although the collation he texts and the brief connecting notes indicate sufficiently the thesis which support. One misses from the historical introduction the three dramatic nents of the years preceding Italy's entry into the war: Pius XI's prayer that l might scatter the nations which were bent on aggression; the same Pope's ring of his life for the cause of peace; and Pius XII's sermon in *Santa Maria a Minerva* on the eve of the great disaster. A passing reference on p. 60 to e bombing of the Papal residence at Castel Gandolfo" is not quite accurate. Papal *gardens*, at the far end of the village from the Palace, were damaged by y near-misses (and some not so near) from bombers attacking the adjacent ds; but the Papal *Villa* itself was undamaged by the whole siege of Anzio, ough it was in the direct line of fire between the German guns on the hills behind the allied batteries in the bridgehead; and no bombs fell on it.

The 52-page booklet on Papal relief issued by the Apostolic Delegation in ndon presents an excellent parable in action with which to illustrate the teaching osed in Fr. Walker's book. In his public pronouncements the Holy Father, he cause of truth, often had to sacrifice regard for the feelings of the belligerents; the belligerents often, with less regard for truth, tortured his statements to e them into weapons of war. But in the exercise of charity the Pope's heart braced all, and the only limits placed to his benevolence were set by the inadequacy his revenue or the barriers deliberately erected by the belligerents themselves inst his beneficent action. The idea of a Vatican Information Bureau was already alized in the last war; but Pius XII had one great advantage over Benedict XV hat he inherited a Radio transmitter—which he was not slow to use, as can be n from the volume of work done: "From October 1939 to December 1944 . . . Office dealt with 1,840,360 incoming requests and messages, and sent out 30,214." When we add to this the work done all over the world for prisoners-of- and refugees by Papal representatives, the various relief commissions, the dical aid provided, the sanctuary given to men of all nations and creeds, and ecially to the Jews, we realise that Papal charity "seeketh not her own".

Professor Gonella's approach to the Papal documents is different from Fr. lker's. The present book is a translation (with some abridgement) of a series articles on the Christmas Messages of the first three war years. Guido Gonella ngs to his task a trenchant style (which can still be appreciated in the translation), al mastery of that most elusive of subjects, international law, and a wide general ding which always furnishes him with an apt quotation just where it is wanted. you want a fair specimen of his style and charm, read Chapter III of the present ok, "The Triumph over Utilitarianism". He scarcely ever quotes the Papal uments directly; but his facility in dotting Papal i's and crossing Papal t's used the rage of the fascists and won him a world-wide reading public, while rought the *Osservatore Romano* for a while into the unaccustomed and embarrassing

limelight as the best-seller of Roman dailies. Gonella, a professor of philosophy in the University of Rome, is one of a group now flourishing in Italy who are excellent Catholics, deep students, and ready journalists; and the Reds would willingly celebrate their absence from the Catholic daily papers or from the riotously popular *Uomo Qualunque* which sells so fast on its weekly appearance that it is on the black market regularly some hours after its publication. Optimists might take such signs and paint with them a rosy picture of Italy's Catholic future; but the presence in the Communist camp of men such as Grieco, Longo (of Spanish Civil War repute or disrepute) and di Vittorio leaves little room for complacency. In some ways the progressive discrediting of the Communists as a political force is disquieting; for the allies never collected the partisan arms from them, and they can start a revolution at any moment if they feel that the political terrain is slipping beneath them. But, whatever be the future, it is certain that men like Gonella are by their writings having a profound influence in re-educating Italy—and, be it hoped, not only Italy.

F. JOY

BIOGRAPHY

THE ROAD OF EXCESS. By Terence de Vere White. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1946. 15s. net.

THE state of Irish historical studies, especially in relation to the nineteenth century, could not be more strikingly illustrated than by the fact that we should have had to wait so long for a life of the founder of the Home Rule movement. In the short but adequate bibliography at the end of the work under review there is not listed as much as one single essay, let alone a monograph, devoted entirely to Isaac Butt. Mr. White's title may perhaps be criticised as both over-fanciful and as liable to misinterpretation. It is explained as derived from a saying of William Blake "the Road of Excess leads to the Palace of Wisdom", and is intended to apply not to Butt's alleged habits of intemperance, but to his slow and gradual change from violent Unionism amd Protestantism in youth to the leadership of the Nationalist Party and the whole-hearted trust of the great majority of Irish Catholics in his old age. What Mr. White has given us is not only a very readable and most pleasant account of how this transformation took place, but a lively panorama of life and politics in nineteenth-century Dublin.

Butt's eclipse before the rising splendour of Parnell had much to do with the subsequent neglect of his career by historians as well as by biographers in search of a subject. This neglect was probably encouraged also by the fact that the Fenians, who had only given Butt a lukewarm benediction—if indeed their attitude towards him may be called by so strong a phrase—threw most of their weight behind the Parnellite movement and gave it its most active and effective leaders, of whom Davitt was of course the greatest. The excitement of the struggle from 1880 to 1886 already made its earliest phases seem tame and uninspiring; and the sudden glare in which Parnell's light went out made the mild and gentle performance of his predecessor seem more remote and less interesting than ever. Even when Irish politics had gone back into the doldrums after the Home Rule Bill of 1893, it became the fashion to think of Butt—if anybody did think of him—as a very insignificant forerunner of the leaders who then held the field.

Mr. White's book should do much to redress the historical balance. Even yet it is almost paradoxical to point out, as he effectively does, that for all its rather garish glamour, the Parnell movement was very little more successful in the actual event than that led by Butt, whose ineffectiveness was so derided by the actionists of the late 'seventies. The land settlement had in fact begun before Butt's retirement, and had begun on lines long advocated by Butt himself; and, as it turned out,

e Rule in 1893 was after all not much less far away than it was in 1879. Parnell's t-publicised active policy was of course rendered nugatory by his personal er, but that was by no means all. When we look back across Sinn Féin to truggle of the nineteenth century, we have a clearer perspective of the size of ask attempted by O'Connell, Butt, and Parnell alike; and we are also exempt the necessity of judging any of them for the inadequacy of their methods in when almost all methods must have seemed equally hopeless.

hance and the vagaries of personality played perhaps a disproportionate part e careers of all three leaders. Butt's misfortune was that, like Gladstone, he he truth about the Irish question too late in life and that his most active manhood t a time when no leader of his origin or religion could have done very much y case. It was added to by a strange personal instability of temperament, n even after Mr. White's frank and fair discussion remains rather a mystery. t does emerge very clearly from his book is Butt's very high standing both as vocate and as a thinker. His training as an economist gave a depth and certainty s views on that most important aspect of national policy which is concerned agriculture, trade, and industry. On these matters Parnell was truly "an ant young man" by comparison with Butt, as indeed he was in everything ected with law, political theory, or history. In many ways Butt anticipates in respects rather such a man as Arthur Griffith, who might indeed have gone m for the theory of Protection. As we read his writings and speeches we still some of the "genius" which his contemporaries so constantly found in him, are compelled to lament the ill chance that made his youth that of a leader ctarian fanatics and his middle age that of a somewhat shady London lawyer. White asks, but of course cannot answer, how it was that he escaped all contact his junior, Thomas Davis. It is equally mysterious that he should not have influenced by the men who influenced Davis—Francis Kearney and Thomas is.

Perhaps the explanation is the very simple one that Butt belonged to the extreme and Protestant set in Trinity College. Mr. White's lively account of his nful activities is made more entertaining by the antics of such men as the Rev. Tresham Gregg. Another feature which makes his book extremely readable e care with which he treats of the many celebrated legal cases in which Butt engaged—among them the Ireland's Eye murder and the libel action in which Travers sued Lady Wilde. Mr. White deserves warm congratulations on a ant performance.

M. T.

BIENHEUREUX RICHARD, ABBÉ DE SAINT-VANNE DE VERDUN. Par Dom Hubert Dauphin, O.S.B. Louvain-Paris. 1946. 240 francs belges.

years ago, when I was seeking for light as to possible continental influences might account for the remarkable reform movement which transformed the life e Irish Church in the twelfth century, I made a brief survey of the contacts een Irish monks abroad and the great Benedictine reforming movement that directed from Cluny in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[1] These contacts were frequent in the Middle Kingdom of Lorraine, Metz, Toul and Verdun being hief centres. Using the text of two early chronicles—the *Gesta Episcoporum unensium* and the *Chronicon Virdunense* (the latter being the work of a twelfth- ury abbot of Saint-Vannes, Hugh of Flavigny)—I did my best to tell for Irish ers the very curious tale of a short-lived Irish settlement at Verdun, from which developed a famous Benedictine community, Saint-Vanne de Verdun.

[1] Irish Monks and the Cluniac Reform," in STUDIES (June 1940). Pp. 409-30.

The war had already cut us off from the Continent when I began these studies, and I had to content myself with the texts as they were printed in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* of Pertz and Migne's *Patrologia*. I did not know that a Benedictine scholar of Quarr Abbey had been working for some years on these very problems, and had already accumulated most of the materials that are now brought together in this fine study of Abbot Richard—the monk who came to Fingen of Ireland at Verdun in 1003 and who made his profession under the Irish abbot in the following year. Dom Hubert Dauphin has the advantage of intimate familiarity with the Benedictine rule and with the whole history of Saint Benedict's Order. He had also access (before 1939) to manuscript materials in the Municipal Library at Verdun, where the surviving archives of St.-Vanne are now preserved; and his bibliography covers a very wide field indeed. It is a pleasure to greet the first appearance of a scholar who is in direct line of succession to so many other Benedictine historians. Dom Dauphin's handling of the Irish episode in his narrative suggests that Irish scholars, who still grieve for the loss of Dom Gougaud, can welcome a friend who does not lack sympathy for the chequered history of Irish monasticism in its later phases.

Briefly, Abbot Richard is a remarkable, though somewhat isolated, figure in the story of eleventh-century Benedictine monasticism. Cluny was then at the height of its fame, and Richard—with his companion, Count Frederic—visited Abbot Odilo in Cluny when the two would-be monks were still hesitating as to the precise nature of their vocation. Dom Dauphin's version of this story differs from that of previous interpreters in so far as he attaches greater weight to the evidence of Abbot Hugh of Flavigny, whose *Chronicon*—though written a full hundred years after many of the events that it records—seems to him more trustworthy than the anonymous *Vita Richardi* or the earlier anonymous continuation of the *Gesta Episcoporum*. Irish readers will note that this new interpretation of an old story insists on the unquestioned contemporary evidence as to the reputation for sanctity and austerity which Abbot Fingen and his few Irish companions had acquired, first at Metz, later at Verdun. The rule they followed seems to have been, in substance at least, the Benedictine Rule; but the *Gesta Episcoporum*, which tells this part of the story at some length and has the value of almost contemporary evidence, makes it plain that the Irish way of life proved a severe trial to these two aristocratic novices. The *Vita Richardi* explains these early trials by the simple assumption that community discipline under Fingen's rule was lax and unworthy. Dom Dauphin seems very much nearer to probable truth when he suggests that some special Irish observances, not of Benedictine origin, may well have been the main cause of friction. According to the *Gesta* and the *Vita*, the two novices were driven almost to despair by their growing sense of disappointment and disgust. They planned one night to run away, faithless to the profession they had made a few months earlier. But a local woman recluse, who had not left her cell for many years, was inspired by God to sally forth at night and reveal their intended flight to Abbot Fingen. Shame, repentance, fresh courage and new good resolutions, ending in the election of Richard as abbot of the small community when Fingen died within the year: it makes a pretty tale, and I am not sure that I agree with Dom Dauphin who eliminates the whole incident from his narrative on the ground that Hugh of Flavigny, writing more than a century later, preferred to omit it as not worthy of credence. The tale may have grown in the telling, but it is told in full by the earlier continuator of the *Gesta*; I find it hard to believe that there is no substance at all in the story.

Once elected abbot—and Dom Dauphin has an ingenious explanation of his election *ex ore infantium et lactentium*—Abbot Richard set himself to lift the standard

nastic observance and succeeded in making St.-Vanne a centre of the general ean reform which marks the eleventh century as one of the great ages of lictine monachism. If Dom Dauphin's theory is true, Fingen had entrusted rd with the duty of educating the young *oblati* who came to Verdun for the tunity of being schooled in the ways of monastic life. Abbot Richard ruled onastery from 1004 to his death in 1046. This book contains an elaborate of his achievement, as builder and administrator, as reformer of neighbouring steries, and as ecclesiastical statesman. There is also a very curious account ilgrimage to Jerusalem which the abbot performed in 1026. Hugh of Flavigny e our main authority; his account is derived in part from oral information him by a monk whose father and grandfather had accompanied Abbot Richard e road to the Holy City. Finally, Dom Dauphin discusses the relations between t Richard's foundations in Lorraine and the more highly centralised foundations e Cluniac Congregation. We have here an important contribution to the y of that local reforming movement of the Middle Kingdom to which M. Fliche was the first to direct the attention of scholars.

om Dauphin has been fortunate in the opportunity of publishing so many ble results within less than two years of the liberation of France. His book, are told in the preface, was completed during the course of the recent war. now published as Fascicule 24 of the Bibliothèque de la Revue d' Histoire siastique, where it joins such goodly company as Dom Gougaud's *Les Saints ais hors d'Irlande* and the official texts of the Cistercian and Premonstratensian es.

A. G.

ENNIAL PHILOSOPHERS. By Arthur H. Ryan, D.D., D.Ph. Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds. 1946. 3s. 6d.

is an unusual book. Mgr. Ryan's Perennial Philosophers are the half-dozen ers who were most influential in developing the European body of thought the Perennial Philosophy. The idea underlying the book is that, from the ning, there had been almost unanimity on a considerable body of philosophic and this persisted until some time after Kant when men ceased to be unanimous ir confidence in reason. In these radio talks Mgr. Ryan tried (successfully) erest listeners in the thought of these great thinkers by first interesting them ir historical aspect. Hence he treats his philosophers only from the outside, dering their lives and times, their influence on history, their chief ideas as stood by their contemporaries. Since Mgr. Ryan's narrative style is most tive, the result is an unusual book, for it is both useful and entertaining.

he book treats of Augustine, Boethius, Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, Plato, tle, and the Neo-scholastic movement—and in that order. Its most original to restore Boethius to his rightful place in the philosophical tradition. Every- Mgr. Ryan shows so wide a knowledge of his subject that he must have d to select the matter of his book very carefully. It is interesting, therefore, l him preferring to describe the picturesque younger days of his heroes rather he dramatic controversies of their prime. Neither Augustine's controversy he Donatists nor Thomas's with Siger and the Averroists is mentioned. But f one were to desire a different principle of selection of facts, one could not hat the influence of these thinkers, in kind and degree, on European civilisation en justly estimated—even to a summary and timely debunking of Nietzsche.

couple of points of secondary importance call for comment. The Peckham ttacked St. Thomas was called not George but John. Abelard's importance ttle exaggerated. His orthodoxy on the question of universals was only

definitely established about fifteen years ago on the discovery of the Lunel Fragment. Even in his own day his doctrine was not clearly understood. St. Bernard's accusation of Arianism was partially founded on the suspicion of nominalism that surrounded him. Abelard cannot therefore greatly have contributed to the victory of Aristotle's doctrine of universals, though he held it. Finally Mgr. Ryan asserts that the accusations of William of Saint Amour against the behaviour of the Dominicans and Franciscans in the University of Paris were " not without foundation ". Where is the evidence for this statement? Mandonnet, who is famous for the thoroughness with which he has explored this episode (the prelude to the Averroist drama), has not found the slightest foundation for the charges of the fierce French canon.

However these are negligible blemishes in a remarkable and delightful book.

A. L.

Celtica

EARLY IRISH HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY. By Thomas F. O'Rahilly. The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1946. x + 566 pp. 21s.

Ptolemy the geographer lived in the second century A.D. His description of Ireland is the earliest extant; for the work of Pytheas, who lived towards the end of the fourth century B.C., is lost. In the first chapter of *Early Irish History and Mythology* Professor O'Rahilly, after an exhaustive study of the names listed by Ptolemy, decides that the most striking feature of his account of Ireland is its antiquity (p. 40). " The Ireland it describes is an Ireland dominated by the Érainn, and on which neither the Laginian invaders nor the Goidels have as yet set foot. The language spoken in it was Celtic of the Brittonic type." The latest possible date for the arrival of the Goidels in Ireland Professor O'Rahilly holds to be 50 B.C. (*cf.* p. 208). The earliest possible geographer upon whose work Ptolemy could have based his own account is Pytheas. " Hence ", writes Professor O'Rahilly, " we may draw the important conclusion that the two last Celtic invasions of Ireland, that of the Lagin and that of the Goidels, took place between *ca.* 325 B.C. and 50 B.C." (p. 42).

In sixteen subsequent chapters, ten appendices, and almost a hundred pages of additional notes, Professor O'Rahilly uses the evidence supplied by the science of linguistics and by native tradition to supplement what Ptolemy has to tell us of pre-Christian Ireland. On p. 419 he thus summarizes some of his conclusions: " There were four bodies of Celtic invaders, viz. (I) the Priteni, who spread over Britain and Ireland; (II) the Bolgi, or Belgae, who invaded Ireland from Britain; (III) the Laginian tribes, who came from Armorica, and who appear to have invaded Britain and Ireland more or less simultaneously; and (IV) the Goidels, who reached Ireland direct from Gaul. The earlier invaders were P-Celts; the Goidels alone Q-Celts. The invasion of the Bolgi occurred perhaps in the fifth century B.C.; those of the Lagin and the Goidels between the time of Pytheas (*ca.* 325 B.C.) and the year 50 B.C."

The Priteni, who are treated of in Appendices I, II, and X, gave their name to the Pretanic (Britannic, or British) Islands. They include the Picts of northern Scotland, and are known to Irish tradition as *Cruthin* (Modern *Cruithnigh*), which is Q-Celtic borrowing of P-Celtic Priteni, preserved in Welsh as *Prydyn* ' Pictland '. The Dál nAraidi and Uí Echach, who in early historical times inhabited the greater part of Co. Antrim and the west of Down, admittedly belonged to this stratum of the population. But by the help of genealogies other branches of the Priteni may be traced in other parts of Ireland.

Beside these northern Cruthin (or Priteni) in early historical times lived the

, otherwise known as the Dál Fiatach of Co. Down. Ptolemy knew them as tii. Tradition proves them to have once been the most powerful people in orth of Ireland, having their capital at Emania near Armagh. They were n by race, says Professor O'Rahilly (p. 180, n. 3). And by calling them Érainn dicates that they were related to Ptolemy's Iverni and Darini, for the Érainn *Everni*) of Irish tradition were believed to be descended from an ancestor d Dáire, from whom also the Dál Fiatach were supposed to be descended. r a name of wider extension the Érainn were known as Fir Bolg, which Professor hilly derives from a primitive *Bolgi*, cognate with the continental population- *Belgae*. A full account of Irish tradition concerning these Builg or Fir Bolg e found in chapters II-V. Of special interest to students of Irish will be the ssion of their language *Iarnbélre* (source of the grammatical term *iarmbérla*), god *Bolga*, and his lightning-spear the *Gaí Bulga*.

hapter VI treats of the conquest of Leinster and Connacht by the Laginian ers, known as Lagin, Domnainn (Latin *Dumnonii*), and Gálioin. Memories ir invasion (according to Professor O'Rahilly) are combined with mythological es in *Orgain Denna Ríg*, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, and *Togail Bruidne Da* . In these stories (says Professor O'Rahilly) : " we get glimpses of a numerous ing band landing on the coast of Leinster, and of the death and destruction followed in their wake. We see an Ernean king surprised and slain in his ss, whether at Dinn Ríg or at Tara, and we hear of another such king banished his kingdom by the invaders. And we are fortunate in possessing a double nt of this invasion, one of them told from the viewpoint of the invaded, the from that of the invader, so that we are enabled the more easily to realize ragedy on the one side, the triumph on the other " (p. 140).

hapters VII to XII treat of the subsequent Goidelic conquest, which Professor hilly believes to have begun with an invasion from Gaul some time between nd 50 B.C., and to have been completed by the final defeat of the Ulaid in eign of Niall Noígiallach, who died *c.* 427.

Some Questions of Dating in Early Irish Annals " are discussed in Chapter Chapters on Irish mythology follow : much of the Ulidian cycle is here red to be mythology ; we are warned to look for even less history in the Finn ; and Tara traditions about Conn and Cormac are likewise stated to be mainly ological. In these chapters Professor O'Rahilly develops the thesis of a single world-god, who is preeminently a sun-god, but combines in himself many functions as well, such as smith-craft, healing, control of the weather, rule the dead (pp. 469, 483-4, etc.) : Nuadu, the Dagda, Balar, Cú Roí, Aed, and Conn are among the names by which he was known. To this god is sed a Hero, who " in one of his functions was the divine prototype of human hip " (p. 284). The Divine Hero appears in legend under many names, of a Lug, Cú Chulainn, Finn, and Cormac are perhaps the most familiar. In the Divine Hero overcomes his father the Otherworld-god with that god's weapon, the thunderbolt, known variously in story-telling by names such as *Gaí Bulga* (Cú Chulainn s weapon), the *Caladbolg* (Arthur's Escalibur), or the *heamh Soluis* of our halfpenny postage-stamps.

The author has argued all the points mentioned, and many others besides, an unbelievable wealth of learning and rare keenness of perception. It may d with truth be said that *Early Irish History and Mythology* is the most broadly- and most original work that has yet appeared on the subjects of which it . To a mastery of the philology of the Irish language at all its stages which ts kind unique, Professor O'Rahilly joins an unrivalled knowledge of the sources n almost uncanny gift for perceiving patterns that will bring order into their . The earliest Irish sources for mythology and pre-Christian history are

perverted forms of oral tradition, written down many hundreds of years after the events they are supposed to narrate: scholars are agreed that what had already become confused by imperfect memory has been in addition deliberately perverted, partly to suit the policy of ruling dynasties, partly in the interest of euhemerization, and partly so as to give Ireland a continuous history comparable to the history of Rome, Greece, and the Near East. The Irish sources not being acceptable as they stand, Professor O'Rahilly's patterns are of necessity reconstructions. It may well be that at times they fail to represent the original building; but at least they are constructed with bricks chosen from tradition, and are thus very different from the airy castles which a different type of builder will found perhaps on fact, but will build mainly with the unsubstantial bricks of fancy. It is unlikely that any future investigator will find patterns more satisfying or more convincing.

Professor O'Rahilly's treatment of some of his predecessors can hardly be described as generous: their mistakes are given prominence; the progress that they made and, above all, the change of outlook that they brought about by application of modern methods to their subject are certainly not emphasised. Here and there, too, one finds comments that seem to have been designedly worded so as to give pain to living scholars. From the scientific point of view some readers may be taken aback by being asked (p. vi) to take many mythological conclusions on trust. These conclusions have undoubtedly guided the author in the difficult task of separating myth from legendary history, and are thus essentially connected with the historical portion of the volume. It is therefore to be hoped that before long Professor O'Rahilly, imitating his Sun-god in beneficent mood, will further enlighten our darkness by publishing a more fully reasoned statement of his mythological opinions. May one suggest that the light might shine more effectively if on that occasion he for a while forgot that the Sun-god was also master of the thunderbolt?

G. M.

Economics and Planning

FULL EMPLOYMENT IN IRELAND. By Arnold Marsh. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1945. 10s. 6d.

THE greatest credit is due to Mr. Marsh and his unnamed helpers for taking over, for application to Irish economic problems, the results of the Keynes analysis, which hitherto it has rarely been deemed necessary in Ireland either to endorse or to refute. This marks a decisive advance. In any country whose unemployed mostly emigrate, the whole question of the propriety of eschewing projects of national investment that are unlikely to be financially self-balancing requires candid investigation. A modern economist prescribing for a low-pressure system would warmly favour all such projects just for the sake of what a classical economist would have set against them as their "cost"—it has been shown, in fact, that the capital item specifically provided for is only a first-fruit of the disbursed sums, which may be expected to issue out sooner or later from the pockets of their original recipients into the circulating stream of income, to be used and re-used in paying for further production. If Ireland were commercially a closed community, a policy of investment and passive reliance on this "multiplier-effect" would serve her turn very well. There being in such a case no diversion of the new income to industrial centres abroad to buy goods for import, it follows that at each of its successive transfers, until it was all drawn off in the form of savings withheld from market use, it would purchase products of native enterprise. The state of affairs that Mr. Marsh wants to realise is approximately that. Full employment would be the characteristic of it, as he claims. Whether it will be attained seems to depend almost entirely on the possibility of insulating the country's economy to any degree that may be

sary—*i.e.* on whether it will become politically feasible to have an intelligent rity exercising an effective control over expenditure on imports. At least very hard to see any alternative course, except to let the rot go on.

t must be said that the authors of *Full Employment in Ireland* have no more an intuitive and sometimes imprecise understanding of the theory on which base their work. They state at p. 23 that " there is *always* [reviewer's italics] dency among competitive producers for their output of goods . . . to outrun olume of wages and salaries that are paid by the whole business community." at is not the hoary Douglas Fallacy come back in person, it is all too liable to istaken for it. The sound doctrine is surely that inflation can and does occur hat the need then is for withdrawal of purchasing power, not for fresh expen- e. At p. 39 " mere redistribution " of wealth is disparaged as inferior to ployment measures as a means of stimulating economic recovery. In actual of course, the question of precedence simply does not enter in, redistribution g no other purpose but to establish the conditions in which an increase of oyment is most likely. There is at p. 226 a worse lapse than either of these. atures the two errors : that total savings can be increased by individual acts ving and that an achieved increase of total savings automatically induces an valent addition to investment. On the whole the pure economics presented aky. As, however, the relatively few serious inaccuracies are all *obiter*, the for national development along some such lines as the book suggests is not ed by this.

n early chapter is given over to review of expansionist programmes that have ed successfully in countries overseas—viz. Russia, Germany, Sweden, New nd. The special case of Ireland is considered then. Not very much attention t enough—is given to the potentialities of secondary (manufacturing) industry of services, but the agricultural problem receives the fullest treatment. Among ulture's chief needs are placed : scientific land-utilisation, a great increase of ine capital, establishment of demonstration farms and veterinary dispensaries, sion of indoor occupations for the winter, afforestation, facilities for processing t near the farm. Chapter IX contains interesting calculations of certain ipated consequences of increased efficiency. But it is not forgotten that the e of farming depends on its markets and must be determined largely by the ls of national income, including the response of national income to additions vestment (which themselves may or may not be directed immediately to ultural improvements). The proposals relating to investment are for this n fundamental. Mr. Marsh does not boggle at capitalization that will, at s 50% above their pre-war level, reach a total of £2,300 millions over a period years. This figure, which is advanced only as a tentative estimate and may n excess of what is really required for full employment, is reckoned on the thesis that importation continues about as free as in the past. Investment s would be less if ever it were found practicable to limit imports by some m of discriminative control.

merit of the book is that the " how " of national development, distinct from ' whether," is considered all the time as the fundamentally economic problem h it properly is. Let expenditure be well sustained, and the technical adviser not worry about who initiated it in the particular instance, Government or te entrepreneurs or consumers. Indeed, reasonable occasion for jealousy een business community and State would first arise only after they had together ed production to its physical maximum, so that neither could hope to be ndised any further save at the expense of the other. As long as there remain n and material resources still unclaimed, the spending group that proceeds ltivate them robs nobody in doing so.

PETER BRENNAN

HOMES, TOWNS AND COUNTRYSIDE. A Practical Plan for Britain. Edited by Gilbert and Elizabeth McAllister. London: Batsford. 1945. 18s.

IF human needs can ever be filled by scientific diagnosis and prescription, this book certainly points the way. In ten essays—covering Towns, Agriculture, Land Use, Location of Industry, Transport, Fuel, Space Standards, Culture of Living, the Arts, and Administration of Planning—the separate writers give their opinions on the effort required to make England fit for humans and on the contribution each of the above subjects make towards providing a high standard of living, economically and culturally, for individuals. An introduction by Gilbert McAllister and a postscript by the Archbishop of York on Planning for Human Needs complete the book.

The theme of the book, as Mr. McAllister ably sets out in the introduction, is that peace provides the opportunity for translating into tangible form the vision which people got during the war—the vision of a new and beautiful life free of the squalor and suffering of 1919-1939, a chance to correct the old mistakes and to build for human peace and joy. In rapid analysis he sketches the defects of Great Britain before World War II—the decay of agriculture, the depression of industry, the overcrowding of slums and suburbs, the meagre choices facing the poor—and then proceeds to show that these sicknesses can be ended if men of ability and enthusiasm tackle them. The ensuing ten essays, each written by a recognised authority, analyse the particular topics enumerated above, shows how through rational schemes of action they can be approached and made yield their quota to human betterment. This last aspect, human betterment, is the thread which unifies the whole book.

Chapter X, Planning Administration and Planners, frequently omitted from planning books, is important. It covers the execution of these great schemes, the problems involved, the choices necessary, and the provision of personnel to carry the schemes into effect. The postscript by the Archbishop of York has to do with Man's Spiritual Side, likewise often forgotten but none the less important: religion, family, home life, work, fellowship.

It is a book which will delight the general reader and provide the specialist with much food for thought. It shows the unfortunate results of unorganised and random development, how with forethought they could have been avoided, and how even now they can be remedied and the country made delightful to live in—with man guiding and nature doing the work.

JAMES BYRNE

HISTORY

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. By John Tracy Ellis. Washington: American Catholic Historical Association. 1946. $3.00.

IN November 1939, when the shadows of World War II were already beginning to darken the American horizon, the Catholic University of America celebrated its golden jubilee. Now that the war is over, Dr. Ellis, who is Associate Professor of American Church History in Washington, publishes this very helpful account of the circumstances which led to the foundation of his Alma Mater in 1889. The book ends with the formal opening of the University on November 13, and Dr. Ellis makes no effort to contrast the achievements of later years with the small beginnings that he here chronicles. The time has not yet come for a definitive history of the first fifty years of the University's life; but we have here a most serviceable Introduction to that unwritten story.

An Irish reader may be pardoned for the inevitable tendency to contrast this

merican story with the almost contemporary development in Dublin. The final vision in favour of a Catholic University for the United States of America was given at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. Newman had come to Ireland more than thirty years before that date, and he had resigned from his post as Rector just a quarter of a century before the American plan. But his Catholic University was still alive in one important faculty in 1884, and the Irish Jesuit Fathers were doing their best to perpetuate his scheme, in a modified and less ambitious form, in the Old College at 86 St. Stephen's Green. To-day the Catholic University of Ireland is no more than a memory, and the Irish Jesuit Fathers have long since handed over their trust to other hands. How has the ideal of a Catholic University fared on both sides of the Atlantic in the past fifty years?

No Irish reader can fail to be struck by one obvious contrast between the scheme propounded by Newman in 1852 and the American scheme of 1889. Dr. Ellis cites more than one illuminating text from the pronouncements of American ecclesiastical leaders which make it plain that, from the first tentative scheme, the Catholic University of America was planned as a centre of higher ecclesiastical studies. Newman's lectures on *The Idea of a University* set a very different plan before Irish students—an all-embracing University of higher studies, in which layman and cleric would meet and share the experience of higher education in the various schools and faculties of one great University. To-day the Catholic University at Washington has almost 3,500 students; but by far the greater majority of this student-body is composed of ecclesiastics. The University is now surrounded by an imposing group of residential hostels. But these hostels are in fact houses for ecclesiastical students, men and women. There are about 120 professors on the staff of the University; most of them are priests who have specialised in one or other branch of higher ecclesiastical studies.

This development has not been unexpected. The decree of the Baltimore Council which sanctioned the foundation in 1884 contains the following significant sentence (I quote from the English translation given by Dr. Ellis): "It is highly to be desired that in these States there should exist a distinguished center of learning where youths excelling in talent and virtue, after finishing the usual course of studies, may be able to devote three or four years to theological disciplines, or canon law, or philosophy along with the natural and other sciences which are becoming to clergymen of our day." Indeed, the most formidable opposition which the propounders of the scheme had to overcome came from two American Bishops—Dr. Corrigan, the Coadjutor Archbishop of New York, and Dr. Bernard J. McQuaid, Bishop of Rochester—who were convinced that a seminary of this type in Washington would prove to be a dangerous rival to their own diocesan seminaries.

These fears were allayed by the experience of later years, and the Catholic University has made its name as a national centre of Catholic post-graduate studies. Dr. Ellis publishes an interesting photograph of a group which includes all the members (one Bishop and ten priests make the total) of the Original Faculty of the University. The choice of a site was an inevitable subject for controversy, and there were many who thought with Bishop McQuaid that "the placing of the proposed University at Baltimore or Washington is the killing of the babe before it is born". The Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institute were to prove valuable compensations for the relative remoteness of Washington from the great centres of American industry and commerce. Characteristically of all things American, the generosity of private benefactors has made each new development possible, far beyond the modest hopes of its founders, during the past fifty years. The initial benefaction came from a young New York heiress, Miss Mary Gwendoline Caldwell, who in 1884 offered the Bishops the sum of $300,000 "for the purpose of founding a National Catholic School of Philosophy and Theology". Dr. Ellis does not print

a list of later benefactors, but their name must be legion if we are to judge by the present material prosperity of the University.

Irish readers should perhaps be reminded that this Catholic University in Washington is very far from being the only attempt to solve the problem of higher education for American Catholics. Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, who had been a Jesuit until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1776, has the credit of founding the first Catholic University in the United States as far back as 1789—just 100 years before the foundation of the University in Washington. It still flourishes as Georgetown University, under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers. St. Louis (1818) and Fordham (1841), though younger rivals of Georgetown, have to-day a much larger student-population; whilst there are some dozen other Universities under Jesuit direction in the United States. The Holy Cross Fathers have been notably successful in their work as founders of Notre Dame University (1842); whilst the Vincentians, the Marists, the Benedictines and others have also laboured in the same field.

All these American Catholic Universities are under the direction of priests, but they differ fundamentally from the Catholic University in the scope of their educational programmes. From the first they have been designed to provide higher education in the various professions to which every American citizen has free right of entry. Georgetown, for example, has been notably successful in its organisation of legal studies, and is proud of the eminent positions attained by many of its former *alumni*. The same tale is true of Fordham or Notre Dame or St. Louis: in each of these famous University centres the overwhelming majority of students are from the laity, and the majority of professors and other members of the teaching staff is also heavily in favour of the laity. A different purpose has here been aimed at from the first, and the results have been inevitably very different from the achievements of the Catholic University at Washington. Behind all these laborious efforts lies the vast problem of American higher education as a whole—and the problem of Catholic influence in a country where Yale and Harvard and Princeton and the rest set the pace of competition, with funds that are to all appearances unlimited.

Here in Ireland we have problems of our own; but it is plain enough that our solution must be found along lines that correspond with the peculiar conditions of our own social and economic life, whilst maintaining those high ideals of Catholic thought and enterprise for which Irish Catholics made such generous sacrifices in the middle of the nineteenth century.

A. G.

1848: *THE REVOLUTION OF THE INTELLECTUALS.* By L. B. Namier. The Raleigh Lecture on History, 1944. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XXX. London: Cumberlege. 10s. 6d. net.

THOUGH what immediately followed it was very different, the year 1848 was almost as fateful in the politics of all European countries as the year 1789. The promoters of the revolutions which shook the governments of the Continent in fact intended that the work left unfinished half a century earlier in France should be resumed and carried to a more appropriate conclusion than that which had been provided by Metternich, Alexander I, and Castlereagh. There was, however, one fateful difference between the two occasions. In 1848 the driving-force of revolution was far more academic and idealistic than in 1789. This was very largely the reason why Windischgrätz, Radetzky, and Schwarzenberg succeeded where Leopold, Frederick William, and Brunswick had failed in their attempt at suppression.

Though preceded by such universal forebodings and though so apparently triumphant in its first manifestations, the movement of 1848 everywhere petered

it within little more than a single year and left the reaction to all appearance more mly enthroned. Yet its legacy was to prove enormously powerful even as late our own time. To realise its power we have only to recollect that the Communist Manifesto gave the world the first formulated version of " scientific socialism " that year. Even in Ireland almost everything most typical of modern nationalism oes back to the men of 1848. On the Continent, and apart from Marx and Engels, s after-effects, while very powerful, were more obscure. In his very able and nformative Raleigh Lecture, Professor Namier gives us incidental glimpses of the nore important of them in the shape of the Pan-Germanism and the Pan-Slavism hich still torture the European community.

The title of this substantial work of a hundred and twenty-four pages is likely o suggest a rather inaccurate idea of its contents. It neither is nor attempts to be a onnected narrative of all that took place in one eventful year. Such a narrative, hich might easily fill many volumes, has yet to be undertaken. Indeed Professor Namier suggests that he is very likely to undertake it himself ; and his remarkable nowledge of the more obscure Slav sources (he mentions several important Polish nd Czech works not available even in the British Museum) makes him the obvious an for the task. Instead of a narrative, he gives us a series of what may be called oundings, going fairly fully into the difficult questions of Polish-German relations nd the attitude of Austria's Slav subjects to the Habsburg House and to their erman and Hungarian rivals or masters.

The Irish reader is at once tantalised by the lecture's opening sentence, a uotation from Father Joachim Ventura's famous funeral oration on Daniel O'Connell. t is, alas !, the only reference to Ireland in the whole book, serving as a reminder o Irishmen of the links which then so strongly bound Ireland to the Continent, nd of the necessity of doing for this country what has been done for the Germans nd the Slavs. Professor Namier passes at once to France, on the position of which e throws a number of angular beams of light, illuminating the contrast between he tinsel splendour of its rhetoric and its very cautious foreign policy. As in our wn day, the Poles in 1848 were the chief sufferers from this incompatibility between tatesmen's words and their deeds.

The main body of the work is concerned with the relations between the Frankfurt arliament and Prussian Poland, centring round the question whether the latter erritory should be granted self-determination or whether its German minority hould be entitled to representation in a united German legislature. At first there vas much sympathy in Germany for the Poles, and some Germans even toyed with he notion of a war with Russia as a preliminary to a complete restoration of Poland's ivided territories. Professor Namier traces with admirable skill the stages by which his idealistic tendency was gradually abandoned and its place taken by concern or a German *Lebensraum* (a word already used by certain Frankfurt orators). Nowhere was the essential conflict between the fashionable " liberalism " of the period nd the growing nationalism which equally characterised it more clearly shown han in Germany.

From Frankfurt the lecture passes on to Prague and its Pan-Slav Congress, nspired by two very able if rather timid personalities, Palacky and Safarik. Here again future trends were strangely mirrored in the struggles between idealisms that refused any mutual accommodation. Relations between the Slav peoples of Austria were criss-crossed by all manner of racial, social, and political jealousies, and were of course made still more difficult by the aspirations of the Germans (Austria being the great focus of Pan-Germanism) and of the Magyars, whose hero, Kossuth, was a fanatic anti-Slav. The work of the Congress, which was remarkable for Palacky's clear recognition of the value to the Slav races of the Habsburg monarchy, was

destroyed by the riots of June 12-15, which led to the Austrian bombardment of Prague.

Professor Namier is a historian of the "hard-boiled" school, with radical sympathies and the anti-Polish bias just now rather in fashion; but his immense learning gives his book a very special value, and its larger sequel will be eagerly awaited. M. T.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. A Study in Allied Unity 1812—1822. By Harold Nicolson. London: Constable. 1946. pp. 312. 18s.

MR. NICOLSON is justly famed for the combination of diplomatic knowledge and literary grace which mark so many of his writings. The polish of his pen appears more adapted to the Golden Age of Liberal England at the peak of her power than to the iron times through which we now are passing. The author as a young man spent several years in continental embassies, and ever since he has tended to view his history from the windows of Burlington House—a process which unquestionably has its merits as well as its defects. This study on the Congress of Vienna offers him much material for reflection and an opportunity to trace parallels and analogies, which naturally suggest themselves to an acute observer of the political affairs of our century.

The background to the Congress does, indeed, present many similarities with the negotiations and the conferences of 1945-46. For years a Grande Alliance, inspired by powers on the fringe of the Continent, had struggled against a European dictator of immense power and ambition. For some time every foe, save Britain, lay prostrate at the feet of the Emperor, and it was not until many years had passed and millions had been sent to their death that an overwhelming coalition, dominated by the single aim of victory, could crush the most formidable man of the age. His downfall was preceded by risings of partisans and was almost completed by the failure of an audacious campaign in Russia. Immediately on the conclusion of peace, the differences dividing the Allies, which had been glossed over during hostilities, came once more to the surface; and the good fellowship displayed during the victorious advance rapidly disappeared amid the haggling over the spoils of war; the closest friends became foes; and a cloud of gloom settled down on diplomats and peoples. Nicolson rightly deprecates the habit of rigidly interpreting the future in terms of the past, and warns against the easy acceptance of analogy. He does insist, however, on general laws and principles which are valid for the diplomat, and these he endeavours to glean from the complex environment of the congresses of those years. A famous English Premier once stated: "We have no eternal friends and we have no eternal enemies. Our interests, however, are eternal and these we will defend with force of arms". No better instance of the working of this prime maxim of a "good Foreign Office man" could be provided than by a history of the Vienna Congress. Mr. Nicolson, with his eye on Potsdam and Paris, maintains that high strategy rarely changes and that we should not be over-depressed by an inevitable exhibition of human nature. Like a good Liberal he assumes the ultimate success of absolute moral principles and, like a good Briton, he inclines to credit his country with a favourable account on their side.

The author, obviously, knows more of diplomatic practice than of the wider fields of history; and while we feel that he would have produced excellent analyses of Martels, Satow or Wotton, his historical reading is somewhat limited. The selection of German (if not of Russian) literature is absurdly incomplete—the omission of the indispensable Srbik being almost inexcusable; Algernon Cecil is not a competent authority (for an accurate or profound study of Metternich). and there is little evidence of close acquaintance with the more essential domestic

estions, which so greatly shaped the " New Diplomacy " heralded in by the post-poleonic era. The circumstances surrounding the famous Convention of uroggen are not so clear as would appear from pages 23-25 while the treatment the Slave Trade is tinged with an irrelevant bias against the " Catholic " powers d the Papacy.

The structure of the work dealing with the diplomacy of the years 1814-15 is ll balanced and throws much light on the general laws governing the statesmen the times. A pleasant and graceful account (such as we expect from his pen) iven of the chief characters and their policies : Castlereagh escapes rather leniently m the strictures of contemporary opinion ; while the motives of both Frederick lliam and Talleyrand are by no means fully detailed or criticised. On the lomatic background to Napoleon, Bainville might well have been consulted ; d some account could have been taken of the first emergence of Panslav views long the Russian Court and people.

The chapter on the Polish question is among the best in the book ; and it is ite clear that Castlereagh valued highly the strategic importance of Poland—owing in this more clarity than his recent successors. The irony of Prussia's dignation at the offer of the Rhineland in compensation for her Saxon claim mphasises the maxim that a friend, whose territorial ambitions are but partially tisfied, may well become the most dangerous foe of tomorrow. From this study is also evident that independence of a Foreign Minister from public opinion is t necessarily an evil and that the hatreds and passions of peoples clamorous for e-sided justice are frequently more disastrous than the indifference or cynicism the hardened diplomat. Certainly the haughty disdain of a Wellington or a stlereagh for ill-informed opinion was probably as serviceable in foreign affairs it was deplorable at home.

T. D. WILLIAMS

IBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM MEDIEVAL SOURCES. By Clarissa P. Farrar and Austin P. Evans. New York : Columbia University Press. London : Cumberlege. 1946. 50s.

HIS costly volume has been fifteen years in the making ; and is now produced nder the auspices of the Department of History of Columbia University. The litors state in their preface that their aim has been to produce " a reasonably curate guide to existing translations from medieval sources ". As a rough time-mit they give " the period from Constantine the Great to the year 1500 " ; but ere are many exceptions to these limits. All early Christian writings are here cluded owing to their special interest for students of European culture, whilst me Persian and Arabic authors have been omitted who wrote within this period. he editors have indeed made an astonishingly wide cast of their net. Persian nd Arabic authors are as a rule included, as also Icelandic or our own medieval ish writers. The Bibliography aims at giving a complete list of all partial or mplete translations from these various languages into modern English. Transla-ons of the medieval period into Early English are, for the most part, omitted. he Bibliography includes all literary texts, using this term in a wide sense ; but xcludes deliberately what may roughly be classified as documentary sources.

For the benefit of Irish students it is well to warn them that the editors seem have been somewhat inconsistent in their treatment of medieval Irish materials. n their preface they state that in certain fields " such as that of Irish literature " he reader has excellent guides ; and they name Dr. Best's *Bibliography of Irish hilology* (without mentioning the recent second volume) and the late Dr. Kenney's *ources for the Early History of Ireland*. None the less, they have made a praiseworthy ffort to include a very large number of English versions of Irish texts in their

volume. These will be found under such general headings as Irish Literature, Mythology, Liturgy, Lives of Saints or the Cuchulain Cycle; but also frequently under their own separate titles. The student who is lucky enough to own this handsome volume will probably look through it in the hope of finding some minor item that has been missed by Dr. Best; but he will at least have been warned that this volume does not aim at completeness in the field of medieval Irish literature, and—if he is wise—he will continue to put his trust in the two authors whom the editors have named.

A. G.

THE DYNAMICS OF LOVE

THE MIND AND HEART OF LOVE. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. London: Faber and Faber. 1946. 15s.

WHETHER it was the phenomenal blanket sky of this August or the worries of a Dublin resident queuing for her own and others' needs in an overrun city or the demands made on strained eyesight by Post-War Economy Printing I do not know! But I found Father D'Arcy's book of 330 too closely printed pages not exactly a holiday engagement. Now and again, indeed, I felt towards the learned author as the "surrendering" and surrendered fly, in a lower order of creation, must feel towards the "self-regarding" spider. Nor do I think that such reactions can, by any process of "giving" or "taking," be included in the categories of "Love". Yet I refused to relinquish the book into more professional hands—I am not a student of philosophy except *per accidens*—for it interested me even where its method was most teasing. I was caught by the matter, while being intrigued by the manner in which the author wound himself in and out of the web of Love and Love's theorists that he so inexorably wove around the reader. And as I went into his web—I could almost say uninvited—so I have emerged not only intact, but my "self"—"animus" and "anima"—is, I hope and believe, spiritually renewed and refreshed.

It was the late Eric Gill, whose name recurs with that of many others so fittingly in these pages, who said: "He loves best who does not know that he is loving." While this truth is almost a truism and the lover at all times analyses his love at his peril, science physical and metaphysical must carry on and its experts must continue to pour their new wine into our age-old bottles. Indeed, it is a major part of Father D'Arcy's comprehensive thesis that the law of love, that duality which the author conceives as pervading the universe, works no less in the mind than in the heart of man, divinely fashioned, and that all true knowledge is born of Love. The distinction between the love of the mind for the subject of its study and the love of the heart for the object of its desire, divine or human, is one that the reader of this book will learn to make in company with the author. I would not come between them; indeed I could not if I would; and I hold this book to be well worth an intimate grapple. I have done it once and I shall do it again—not for the purposes of a review, I hope.

I think it a pity, however, for the common reader (of Virginia Woolff's type) that Father D'Arcy should have chosen to expound his vast subject—the dynamics of love in nature, man and God—as it were at second-hand through an examination of the theories of Rousselot, De Rougemont, Nygren and Hunter Guthrie, with an occasional excursion into Aristotle and St. Augustine and one not quite so occasional, since it has an appendix all to itself, into St. Thomas Aquinas. In spite of the fact that the author, whose love of imaginative literature is well-known—I have heard him speak finely on that difficult poet, Fr. Gerard Manly Hopkins—waters the desert of the abstract by welcome oases of poetry from the Bible and the Greeks, Dante and the Troubadours, Donne and his attendant Metaphysicals, Nietzsche and

Wagner, Blake, Yeats and Rilke, the tried method " falsa cognoscere, vera intelligere " emains trying for one reader at least. That it has been felt so by Fr. D'Arcy himself s shown, I think, by his insertion from the beginning, into his various chapters, of even appendices as well as by his use, half way through his work, of a recapitulation hapter. These repetitions and extensions as well as the central recapitulation he xplains, it is true, in the preface by a comparison of his method with that of the omposer of a fugue " reproducing more or less exactly by several voices the statement f a leading part ".

In so far as Fr. D'Arcy's several voices are illustrative or decorative as in the oets and artists, " symbols and pointers " as he calls them, I delight in their question nd answer, their play of comparison and contrast. They are not of the texture ndeed, as I suppose they should be in the fugue, but they enrich it, as colours in tapestry. They do not interfere with—they bring out—the pattern. But when is voices are themselves the vehicles of the argument—physical, metaphysical or sychological—the minutiae of which are examined before being accepted or rejected nd when my mind's eye is compelled to move backwards or forwards between hem, I must admit to occasional states of suspension between confusion and veariness, though I should emphatically refuse to endorse the famous aphorism n the fugue: " Dull and pedantic, a fugue is a composition in which one voice uns away from the others and the hearer from them all " ! I doubt, indeed, whether t is possible to apply the analogy of a musical form, even though it be as scholastic s the fugue, to a work of such scope and character as that under review. And I eel that Fr. D'Arcy has done it, as well as himself, an injustice in making use of that nalogy if it compels him to invite even the lazy reader to skip the repetitions—much ess to omit the reading of his fine chapters on the philosophical background of the vhole book. Existentialism is very much in the news in the literary world of today. The French seem to have taken it over bodily from Kierkegaard the Dane—or is t from Heidegger the German enemy? It does not matter much to the universality f poetry, I hope. Reviews play with the word; they seldom define it. There is beautiful vagueness about many of the expositions on the subject. But Father D'Arcy's chapter on the Philosophical Background goes to the root of the matter; or " existence "—a pre-supposition, after all, of the " ism "—is as germane to his heme as " essence ", the other element of the duality inherent in his Love. I leave he reader to get his or her own enlightenment from the book. But I should like o thank Father D'Arcy very sincerely for what he has given me. I am going to ead his book a second time in spite of the fugue aphorism.

MARY M. MACKEN

THE GREAT DIVORCE. By C. S. Lewis. London: Geoffrey Bles. 1946. 7s. 6d.

FOR several years past Mr. C. S. Lewis has been riding on the tiger of a witty, humorous and attractive style—bordering at times on the flippant. He has made many perilous journeys, some to remote planets, others to the still remoter depths of the human mind. And always he has returned safely and smiling. This time, endered bold by success, he has ventured even beyond the edge of doom—and the mile is on the face of the returning tiger. Mr. Lewis—sad the tale—has been wallowed by his own style. Or, to use a metaphor more in keeping with this wentieth-century journey of his, he has missed the bus.

For it is in a bus that Mr. Lewis makes the journey from Hell to Heaven; a us gorgeous even beyond the most persuasive imaginings of a C.I.E. advertisement. " It was a wonderful vehicle, blazing with golden light, heraldically coloured. The Driver himself seemed full of light and he used only one hand to drive with. The

other he waved before his face as if to fan away the greasy steam of the rain." Mr. Lewis, we should add, had arrived in Hell by the simple expedient of falling asleep in his Magdalen study. Miles and miles of weary streets he found there, all in a murky twilight of dismal rain, and always the fear of the darkness when " They " might come out. Not so different after all, it would seem, from his native Belfast!

As for his Heaven, it is obvious that Mr. Lewis has voyaged more than once with Dante through each and all the seven spheres. But not for him the fear that " imagination, and our speech much more, is of too vivid hue for shades so fine ". Acknowledging his debt to " a writer in an highly-coloured American magazine of what they call Scientifiction," he films for us a land which seems to be an amalgam of *Perelandra*, the *Paradiso* and Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird*—all in glorious technicolour. He tugs at the stalk of a heavenly daisy till the sweat stands out on his forehead and his hands are skinned. He tries to pick up a tender beech-leaf ; it is heavier than a sack of coal. Finding the diamond-hard grass rather severe on the feet, he ventures on the swift-moving pale-green stream, only to have his shins battered by the flakes of foam. By a waterfall flowing with giants' laughter over many-coloured rocks he finds a tree bright with innumerable birds and laden with apples of gold. One of Mr. Lewis's fellow-passengers has a bad few minutes when the wind shakes a half a dozen of these on his ghostly head. And when this ghost tries agonisingly to drag one of the smallest apples off to the bus-stop, the waterfall speaks and bids him stay and learn to eat such apples.

It is all very fantastic, and the author has warned us that he is writing a fantasy. But the ghost's rejection of the waterfall's invitation points the moral, as does a series of conversations between the ghosts and the Bright People. These ghosts from Hell—or their near relations—we have met before in the pages of *The Screwtape Letters*. There is the compass-boxing bishop, the Freudian poet and the modernistic painter who have sacrificed everything to their Art, the business-man who only wanted his rights and made living impossible for his men, the woman who killed her husband in the effort to " make " him, and half a dozen other disgruntled females who have ended by becoming pure Grumbles. To all of them is offered Heaven if only they will *choose* to stay. But (as is explained by the spirit of George Macdonald, the Scots-speaking Beatrice to our Oxford Dante) there is always something they insist on keeping even at the expense of misery. And " there is no Heaven with a little of Hell in it—no plan to retain this or that of the devil in our hearts or pockets. Out Satan must go, every hair and feather." It is the Great Divorce, the unavoidable ' either-or '. " There are only two kinds of people in the end : those who say to God ' Thy will be done ' and those to whom God says, in the end, ' *Thy* will be done.' All that are in Hell choose it."

That fearful and forgotten truth is the moral of this peculiar book, a moral, however whose grim contours are strangely blurred and contorted by the accompanying smoke-screen of fantasy. However despicable the ghost of the time-serving bishop, Mr. Lewis would have been well advised to accept his contention that Hell ought to be discussed " simply, seriously and reverently ". It is too terrible for even near-jest. For the disappearance of the fires of Hell from the minds of millions augurs more ill for humanity than the appearance of the atomic flame that lit the ruins of Hiroshima. To-day, more than ever, a fantastic trifle on Hell is out of place. Mr. Lewis would have continued—not interrupted—his excellent service to Christianity had he chosen rather to present Hell to us as a tragedy—a tragedy that would stage human sin and divine agony against the background of Eden and Gethsemane and would plunge to its final fearful *dénouement* in the Lake of Fire.

D. O'S.

(The list of books received has been unavoidably held over)

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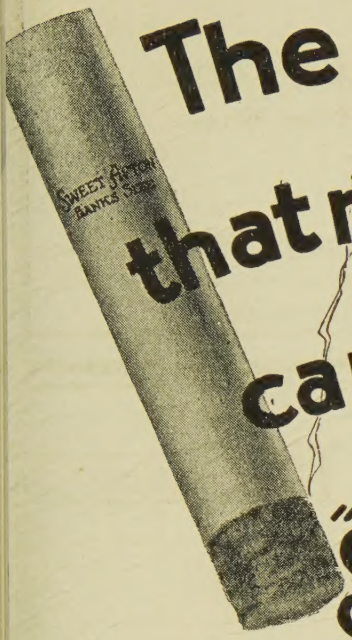

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